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THE RÔLE OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION IN THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ORESTES A. BROWNSON *

> Lost causes have a way of shrinking in importance in the memory of later generations, and the historian must go back to the days before their overflow, and view them in the light of their hopes. Time is not always a just winnower; it is partial to success and its verdict too often inclines to the side of the biggest cannon or the noisiest *claque*. The exhuming of buried reputations and the reviving of dead causes is the familiar business of the historian, in whose eyes forgotten men may assume as great significance as others with whom posterity has dealt more generously. (Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, Foreword to Volume II.)

I cite the above as an appropriate text to keynote historical study in general, and more particularly this study of the rôle of the American constitution in the political philosophy of Orestes A. Brownson. Brownson was a colorful figure in the intellectual life of nineteenth century America. Born in Vermont in 1803, he was successively teacher, preacher, reformer, journalist and, finally, philosopher. After wandering from one religious sect to another, he embraced Catholicism in 1844. However, his life as a Catholic was by no means a serene one. Van Wyck Brooks remarks that Brownson was "too Yankee for the Catholics, and too Catholic for

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the Yankees".[1] Brownson's zeal for the causes for which he struggled often led him to state his position in a singularly offensive form. His trenchant pen made his presence felt in the world of political controversy. His assurance affronted many, his violence antagonized others, his arrogance aroused all. He was read with grim amusement and bitter dislike, but he was read.[2]

During the active years of his life, from 1830 to 1876, Brownson stood between contending forces, a seemingly powerful figure. This was the awkward age in the intellectual development of America. With the cocksure confidence of the stripling schoolboy, the adolescent nation grew increasingly intolerant of the cautious counsels of its elder statesmen. It was an age in which tradition vied with transition, but out of it emerged an American nationality. Brownson was singularly fortunate in being present at the growing pains of our developing nation. At first, he eagerly joined the most extreme groups of social reformers who would create an Utopia in the new world. With the brusque assertiveness of the self-edu-

[1] Brooks, Van Wyck, *The Flowering of New England*, New York, 1936, 248-249. This work presents an interesting account of the New England group with whom Brownson was associated for many years.

[2] Major Henry F. Brownson published a three volume biography of his father (Detroit, 1898-1900). In the volumes entitled, *Early Life, Middle Life* and *Later Life*, many Brownson letters of great interest are contained. The originals of these together with numerous unpublished letters may be found in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame. Biographical details are singularly lacking, however, in this three-volume biography. It may be supplemented by George A. Lathrop's article, "Orestes A. Brownson", *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVII, 770, June 1896. This is perhaps the most adequate brief summary of Brownson's life. The outstanding study of Brownson's philosophy is Virgil Michel's doctoral dissertation, *Critical Principles of Orestes A. Brownson*, Washington, 1918. It may be supplemented by Reverend Sydney Raemer's *America's Foremost Philosopher*, Washington, 1931. Michel has an article summarizing Brownson's *American Republic*, "Brownson's Political Philosophy and Today", *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XLIV, 193, April, 1919. The writer has examined Brownson's political philosophy in a dissertation, *Orestes A. Brownson—American Political Philosopher*, presented to Saint Louis University, 1937. Brownson's ideas may be examined most conveniently in the twenty volumes of *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, edited by Henry F. Brownson, Detroit 1882-1887. *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, 1844-64 and 1873-75, contains his comment on issues of the time. We will hereinafter refer to these two major sources of information as *Works* and *Review*.

cated man, he seized upon one panacea after another as the perfect solution to the ills of mankind. He would sweep away all artificial restraints upon the pristine purity of human nature. Like many idealistic New Englanders of his day, he periodically produced new schemes to remake the world after the image and likeness of the new, perfect man, who, born free in America, did not need to be born again. However, the political prodigality of the 1840 presidential election acted like a dash of cold water on Brownson's reforming enthusiasm. He turned critic, studied the political philosophy of Aristotle and other masters, and became an American political philosopher, analyzing the nature of the American state, its proper functions, and its essential relationships. As a running commentary on this age of soaring thought by one who soared as high as any of the visionaries, but who was not completely disillusioned by a precipitate tumble to solid reality, his work is unique. Brownson's published works provide us with summaries of his ideas, but his most interesting observations must be culled from the pages of *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* a periodical he edited, published, and to which he contributed articles supplying comment upon the issues of the day. Most of the material in this *Review,* published quarterly from 1844 to 1864, and from 1873 through 1875, was written by Brownson himself. In view of the never-ending interest in the American constitution, Brownson's philosophy of the constitutions of states in general, and of the United States of America in particular, may provide us with a philosophical background upon which we might project some of our twentieth-century problems.

Absolutism was Brownson's bugbear. Every time he discerned a trend in that direction, he hastened to the assault. He may be classified as a constitutional democrat. As early as 1842, he remarked: "Constitutions are intended to be a restriction on power, and are needed because power has a perpetual tendency to exceed wholesome limits."[3] Brownson's view was that a constitution must function as an important check upon the absolutism of a majority. He would contend that the majority should not have

[3] *Boston Quarterly Review,* January, 1842, "Constitutional Government"; *Works,* XV, 244, cite this article.

the power to alter the constitution without careful legal procedure, that their ardor might cool as the process of change took place. To institute a constitution which did not impose such restrictions would be equivalent to locking up a culprit, and handing him the keys. Brownson thought that there should be certain formalities to unlocking the door.

He was not so naive as to suppose that a written constitution would solve this problem perfectly. Experience shows that the principle of *inter arma silent leges* usually operates in any emergency. The influence of Aristotle may be discerned in the distinction Brownson drew between the written instrument of government, and what he chooses to call the organic constitution of the state. In 1843 he wrote: "A constitution, which is merely a *written* constitution, is only so much waste paper. There is always needed a power, which shall make the written constitution the real, the living constitution of the people."[4] In 1847, he wrote that this organic constitution "is the living soul of the nation, that by virtue of which it is a nation, and is able to live a national life, and perform national functions. You can no more write it out on parchment, and put it in your pocket, than you can the soul of man."[5] Brownson further avowed his belief that the constitution of a nation " is always the work of Providence using men and circumstances in an expression of His will . . . that it never can be essentially changed by the people or nation . . . without the destruction of the nation itself."[6] A written constitution is only an approximation of this mysterious providential constitution of the state, which is really the national genius of a people. The written constitution will work well only as it approaches more closely to this ideal constitution. Here the influence of Aristotle's conception of the state as an organic, growing thing, rising out of the exigencies and ends of human nature, can be discerned. Aristotle, however, conceived this providential constitution of a state as reflecting the genius of

[4] *Works*, XV, 273, from article in *Democratic Review*, April 1843, "Democracy and Liberty".

[5] *Ibid.*, XV, 561, from article in *Review*, Oct. 1847, "Political Constitutions".

[6] *Ibid.*, XV, 562. Brownson admits his debt to de Maistre for this idea at this point in his discussion.

the ruling class, not of the entire people. Brownson admits the influence of the mystical ideas of the French thinker, the Count de Maistre, who held that each nation has a providential destiny and a providential constitution best suited to that people, and to the attainment of their destiny.

When the written constitution embodies this fundamental political spirit of a people, it provides a satisfactory organization of the government. Insofar as it does not embody this spirit, it should be changed to do so. Brownson therefore did not regard the written constitution as a sacred fetish, but held that it should be changed from time to time to bring it into line with the providential growth of the nation. Admittedly, the change should be made with caution, and Brownson agreed that our written constitution provided wisely in arranging that amendments must be ratified by official action of the states. He regarded the legal forms of the written instrument as highly important in checking unfiltered majority opinion. He feared that radical democratic theory and practice might destroy constitutional government, and "exert a subtle yet powerful influence in substituting the opinions, wishes, the will of the majority for the time, *informally* expressed, for the will of the people formally and solemnly expressed in the constitution and the laws."[7] In other words, orderly government demands that majority rule be exercised through legal forms established by the political people in formal convention. To substitute the caucus for the convention is to substitute anarchy for orderly government through controlled popular processes. Constantly, he insisted that the American system was democratically controlled government, but not democracy.

To Brownson, then, the constitution must always be a living instrument of government, reflecting the genius of a people, and the written document must always be kept in step with the organic growth of a people. This is a point we might well keep in mind today. Of course, the danger in this theory is the tendency many thinkers have manifested to identify this mysterious existence called the state with a particular government, or worse, with a particular

[7] *Works*, XV, 344, from series of atricles in *Democratic Review* through 1843 on "Origin and Ground of Government".

person. Brownson always avoided this extreme by contending that even this mystical providential state possessed only a limited sovereignty, limited not only by its own constitution, but also by its duty of obedience to divine law as authoritatively interpreted by the Church.

In virtue of this fundamental constitution, a people are a sovereignty, and possess the right to meet in convention to delegate the exercise of sovereign power to a government organized under the forms they designate. With this delegation, Brownson held, the nation has transferred the exercise of its original sovereignty, and henceforth must operate through the legal forms thus constituted. The nation, then, has a governor. Brownson applied this philosophic view to the United States, and warned that too decided a drift toward pure democracy in his day indicated a drift away from the traditional fundamental constitution of the American people. His reflections on our written constitution give us a view of this theory in action. As he remarks:

> Fit your shoes to your feet. The law of the governmental constitution is in that of the nation. The constitution of the government must grow out of the constitution of the state, and accord with the genius, the character, the habits, customs, and wants of the people, or it will not work well, or tend to secure the legitimate ends of government.[8]

It will be interesting to see how Brownson fitted our shoes to our feet.

American political issues involving sectional interests have traditionally been discussed on the plans of constitutional theory. Americans have manifested a tendency to rationalize their materialistic reasons for a particular course of action upon high constitutional principles. We have always taken comfort in the smug belief that it is the principle of the thing that concerns us. This was especially true of the rapidly growing sectional rivalry between the north and south in the forties and fifties, as southern leaders raised the doctrine of state sovereignty as a defense against the prospect of northern control of the federal government, and north-

[8] *Works*, XVIII, 97, from Chapter VIII of *The American Republic* by O. A. Brownson, New York, 1865.

erners began to hold a more nationalist view as their section grew in population and strength.

Brownson could not remain out of this classic controversy. He espoused the state sovereignty view of our constitution until the outbreak of the war between the states, when he suddenly became an enthusiastic advocate of a nationalist view. His early interpretation of the constitutional order of the United States was that state sovereignty was an important guarantee of freedom. He argued that the people of the United States were one people only in a restricted sense, that is, they acted as one people for certain specific matters enumerated in the federal constitution. For other purposes, they acted as many people. The division into states, he regarded as a separation into "distinct communities, separate nations, afterwards to be united by a league or compact; not a division at all analogous to the division of the state for municipal purposes into counties, townships, and parishes."[9] Throughout the forties, Brownson regarded himself as a follower of John C. Calhoun, and corresponded regularly with that statesman on political matters.[10] However, Brownson never accepted Calhoun's doctrine of nullification, and in 1847 remarked that a state "can nullify no act of the Union in the passage of which she has participated, either for or against, without breaking her faith; as she is, by her own agreement in consenting to the Union, rightfully held to participate in every act of the Union while she remains in it; whether she actively participates or not, she cannot nullify an act of the Union without seceding from it. She must secede, as the condition of nullifying without a breach of faith. The abstract right of a state to secede we are not disposed to question; but as no state has or can have the right to break its faith, we confess we can hardly conceive a case in which a state may practically exercise this abstract right"[11] Calhoun's answer to this was that a state had

[9] *Works*, XV, 77, from an article in *Boston Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1838, "Abolition Proceedings".

[10] Several Brownson-Calhoun letters appear in *Orestes A. Brownson's Early Life*, by H. F. Brownson. Numerous others may be found in the *Brownson Papers*, Archives, University of Notre Dame.

[11] *Works*, XVI, 43, from an article in *Review*, July 1847, "Slavery and the Mexican War".

a legal right under the constitution to interpret its grant of power to the federal government. It is hard to see how Brownson avoided this difficulty, for the sovereign state must in the last analysis be the judge of its own interests. Admitting Calhoun's premises, it is difficult to avoid the legal logic of his conclusions. Faced, like the colonists in 1776, with what he considered an intrusion into local liberties, Calhoun produced a political theory upon which the district might found a defense.[12]

On the burning political question of slavery in the territories, Brownson argued that "Congress itself having no right to say whether slavery shall or shall not be allowed, it cannot, of course, authorize the people to do so."[13] Since he would not admit that either the federal government or the territory had sovereign power, he argued that the question of slavery could not be dealt with until the territory became a state. Brownson also held that national political parties were against the providential character of our federal system, since they tended to place control of both state and federal government in the hands of one group. "A *national democratic* party is an absurdity, for all the questions which pertain to the constitution of government in general are reserved to the several state governments,"[14] he said in 1852. But, even before the war between the states, Brownson wavered somewhat in his advocacy of state sovereignty, remarking in 1851: "We regard the union as we do marriage, that is, legally indissoluble. We deny in the one, as in the other, the lawfulness of divorce."[15]

[12] Calhoun's argument appears in *The Works of John C. Calhoun*, New York, 1863, Volume I, which contains his *Disquisition on Government*. Calhoun's arguments are legalistic in character and give little consideration to Brownson's moral view that the state was bound to maintain its faith pledged to other members of the Union. Sovereign states usually consider themselves the best judge of their interests, and often act from motives of self-interest, though higher motives may be avowed.

[13] *Works*, XVII, 57, from an article in *Review*, January 1857, "Slavery and the Incoming Administration".

[14] *Ibid.*, XVI, 352, from an article in *Review*, October 1852, "Politics and Political Parties".

[15] *Ibid.*, XVII, 23, from an article in *Review*, July 1851, "The Fugitive Slave Law".

Perhaps it is unfortunate that Brownson did not develop this line of argumentation when he was converted to a nationalist view of the constitution. It is the type of analysis proposed by Webster, followed by Lincoln, and expounded by Chief Justice Waite in *Texas* v. *White*. However, Brownson developed his nationalist view of the constitution, after the civil war began, from the arguments given in a two-volume work by John C. Hurd, entitled *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States,* the first volume of which appeared in 1858. In the dry, somewhat vague, and profoundly confusing exposition presented by Hurd, Brownson found an idea which he developed in his later commentaries on the constitution. In the preface to his *American Republic* (1865), a volume on the government of the United States, Brownson acknowledged that he was "principally indebted for the view of American nationality and the federal constitution I present to hints and suggestions furnished by the remarkable work of John C. Hurd. . . .[16] Hurd argued that the thirteen colonies became one single national sovereign state by fighting and winning the revolution in common, that there was an American nationality in existence before the Constitution of the United States was ratified, that ultimate sovereignty adhered in that nationality, and that the thirteen states were not severally, but jointly sovereign.[17] The American people from the beginning were a nationality manifesting their sovereign power through two governmental agencies, the states for local affairs, the central government for national affairs. It was the states jointly, not severally, that possessed sovereign power from the very beginning, and a single state was sovereign only insofar as it was a member of the community of states, through which the American people expressed their sovereign will. So argued Hurd.[18]

[16] Henry F. Brownson presented to the library of the University of Notre Dame a copy of Hurd's work containing a manuscript letter from Hurd to O. A. Brownson. This letter asks a review of the volumes and suggests that Brownson may find constitutional views of far-reaching importance in them.

[17] Hurd's general line of argumentation is developed in his first volume, 396-414.

[18] Hurd, *op. cit.*, I, 403-404, is especially interesting for a summary of his position.

Brownson saw an opportunity in this view to reconcile his state sovereignty with his nationalism. He was delighted with the doctrine that a state is a state only as one of the United States, and on this foundation accepted Charles Sumner's doctrine that secession is state suicide, extolling that doctrinaire senator as "one of the most philosophic and accomplished living American statesmen."[19] Brownson therefore contended that a state may secede from the union if it chooses to do so, but by so doing the state voluntarily abandoned its privileged position as a state in the union. By its own will, it ceases to be one of the United States. "Such a state goes *out* of the union, but comes *under* it."[20] The argument is based on the premise that a state possesses sovereign power only as a member of the community of states, the United States. Brownson's comment in 1862 is interesting:

> The right of a state to resist the federal government, in case it becomes tyrannical and oppressive, is precisely the right, neither greater nor less, of individuals to do the same. . . . So long as the federal government keeps within its constitutional powers, it governs by divine right, and no state or individual has any moral or political right to resist it. If the free and fair exercise of its legitimate powers bears unequally upon different sections, changes and reforms may be sought, but only in a constitutional way, and by peaceful means. No violence, no insurrection, no rebellion, nor armed resistance is lawful.[21]

One might be disposed to inquire as to what may be done if constitutional reforms fail. If one section should secure control of the government so effectively as to oppress another, and so completely as to block all movement for constitutional reform, must the oppressed section submit? This hardly seems consistent with Brownson's repeated attacks upon tyranny, oppression, and absolute government. Constitutional remedies may be exhausted, and the difficulty still remains.

On the matter of the proper procedure for re-admission of the seceded states into the Union, Brownson differed sharply with Sumner and the extreme Republican policy which aimed to reduce the south to political peonage. He argued that:

[19] *Works*, XVIII, 4, from the Preface to *The American Republic*.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*, XVII, 291, *Review*, July 1862, "What the Rebellion Teaches".

> The general government may concede or withhold permission to the disorganized state to reorganize, as it judges advisable, but it cannot itself reorganize it. If it concedes the permission, it must leave the whole electoral people under the preexisting electoral law free to take part in the work of reorganization, and to vote according to their judgment. It has no authority to purge the electoral people, and say who may or may not vote, for the whole question of suffrage and the qualifications of electors is left to the state, and can be settled neither by an act of congress nor by the executive proclamation.[22]

Brownson's position on the policy of forcing the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments upon the southern states was that these amendments were against the providential constitution of the American people into a nation. "Sovereignty vests in the states united, not in the states severally, but the Union leaves to each state its individuality, and any proposed amendment that would merge the individuality of the state in that of the Union would be unconstitutional, for it would destroy both the state and the Union, by converting the *union* into a *unity* of states."[23] Further, Brownson argued that only a state can ratify an amendment to the constitution, and that forced ratification from the seceded states was invalid. Besides, a state cannot ratify an amendment before it is a state with all the rights of statehood, yet the Congress refused to seat representatives from the seceded states until they had ratified the amendments in question. If they were states, they were entitled to all the rights of states; if they were not states, they could not ratify amendments. Brownson therefore argued that it was an absolutely unconstitutional procedure to make membership in the Union depend upon the ratification of these amendments.[24]

Brownson's final position on the nature of the American constitution appears in his *American Republic,* a volume written after the war between the states. To bolster up his case, he used again his doctrine of the unwritten providential constitution. His view is that the providential constitution of the American people made them a single territorial nationality before the written constitution

[22] *Works,* XVIII, 164, from *The American Republic,* Chapter XIII.

[23] *Ibid.,* XVIII, 255, *Review,* April 1874, "Constitutional Guarantees".

[24] *Ibid.,* 254.

was adopted in convention, and in fact that the convention had power to adopt the written instrument precisely because it represented the will of this single territorial people. "They unitedly declared their independence; they carried on their war for independence, won it, and were acknowledged by foreign powers and by the mother country as the *United States*, not as severally independent sovereign states. Severally, they have never exercised the full powers of sovereign states . . . have made no foreign treaties, . . . held no foreign relations . . . entered no alliances or confederacies with foreign states or with one another."[25] As for the difficulty presented by the Articles of Confederation which expressly states that "each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence" (Article II), Brownson argued that American sovereignty did not exist until the Treaty of Paris recognized it in 1783; therefore, the Articles had no validity ."Till the organization under the constitution ordained by the people of the United States in 1787 . . . the United States had in reality only a provisional government."[26] He held that the Confederation was an acknowledged failure because it was not in harmony with America's providential constitution.

This was an ingenious answer and one which the historian might be disposed to challenge. It seems that there were matters of poor governmental organization combined with the strain of a post-revolutionary economic depression which by 1787 had removed the psychological unreadiness of Americans to form a "more perfect union." As Calhoun so clearly indicated, they did not form a new union.[27] This passage is interesting:

> The key to the mystery is precisely in this appellation *United States*, which is not the name of the country, for its distinctive name is America, but a name expressive of its political organization. In it there are no sovereign people without states, and no states without union, or that are not united states. The term *united* is not part of a proper name, but is simply an adjective qualifying *states*, and has

[25] *Works*, XVIII, 109-110, *American Republic*, Chapter IX.

[26] *Ibid.*, 113.

[27] J. C. Calhoun, "The Government of the United States", *Old South Leaflets* (Boston), V, 117-140. Here Calhoun presents a brief, carefully reasoned statement of his position.

its full and proper sense. Hence, while the sovereignty is and must be in the states, it is in the states united, not in the states severally, precisely as we have found that sovereignty of the people is in the people collectively or as society, not in the people individually.[28]

Thus, Brownson concluded that the sovereign people of the United States are the distinct people of the several states united. They express their sovereignty by constituting on the one hand the general government for affairs of general interest, and on the other, the particular state governments for local affairs. The two governments combined represent the government of the United States. Ultimate sovereignty is to be found in the states in convention jointly assembled, since they so organized the government. In the same manner, they have the right to change the constitution of government, a power which is the distinctive mark of sovereignty. A further argument in favor of this view may be found in the fact that an amendment to the federal constitution ratified by three-fourths of the states may not only change the character of the power of the central government, but also remove powers from the jurisdiction of a state, and that without the state's consent. Such an amendment may deprive a state of powers it has been exercising for some time.

Thus, Brownson believed that he had cut the ground from under the position taken by his old friend Calhoun. Brownson's theory is an admirable rationalization of northern opinion at the close of the civil war. Also, there is no doubt that Brownson was right when he held that the only way to refute Calhoun was to deny that the states were ever severally sovereign. Unfortunately, Brownson's enthusiasm seems to have led him to assume facts, and to forget that Calhoun had presented a formidable array of facts to prove that the states were severally sovereign before the constitution of 1787; Brownson seems to have forgotten that the seventh article of that document reads: "The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of the Constitution between the states *so ratifying the same.*"[29] He seems also to have forgotten that North Carolina and Rhode Island remained out

[28] *Works*, XVIII, 115, *American Republic*, Chapter X.

[29] Italics mine.

of the Union for some time, and were regarded by Washington as foreign states with no obligations to the United States constitution.[30] Brownson should have remembered the tariff wars between the states during the period before the 1787 constitution. Perhaps he was not aware of the fact that Vermont had attempted to negotiate a separate treaty with Great Britain. A glance at any standard history of the United States shows that the colonies certainly thought that they were sovereign states after they secured their independence from Great Britain, and proceeded to act as such, even to the degree of forming a confederation "styled" the United States of America, which should be a "firm league of friendship," in which they voluntarily agreed to certain limitations on their sovereignty. The operation of the Covenant of the League of Nations shows that this procedure does not destroy sovereignty.

Yet, the shaky factual foundations for Brownson's position must not blind us to the value of his explanations of the source of sovereignty in the United States in the post civil war period. If Brownson had placed his argumentations upon his own premise of a providential constitution and held that that constitution, sometime in the three quarters of a century of the existence of the United States, had changed to a national one, he might have had a stronger case. He could have contended that the providential constitution of the United States had changed, and with it, sovereignty in the nation. Certainly, it is hard to see how Brownson could claim even spiritual unity for the American people prior to the era of Jackson. Of course, the controversy over the matter of state sovereignty was settled by force of arms in the civil war, a method of settlement which is rather unsettling. But, American nationality was a fact after that war, however, and whenever, it appeared. With American nationality a fact, Brownson's theory of sovereignty as residing in the states united in conventions seems most satisfactory.

In view of the wide debate in our day on the age-old question of the proper relationship of Church and State, Brownson's interpretation of the relationship established by the American constitution is interesting. To Brownson religious freedom meant that

[30] Calhoun, *op. cit.*, 123.

the State must protect everyone in the free and full exercise of his religion, so long as that religion is not dangerous to the preservation of social order. This is more than mere toleration, for it is a recognition of the equal rights of all religions before the State. Essentially, it is the fundamental doctrine that the State has no competence to decide upon spiritual matters, and no authority to direct the consciences of its members, a doctrine to which modern dictatorships might well listen. Authority in spiritual matters must reside in the moral power of the Church, and the Church may legitimately ask of the State that full freedom be granted it to exercise that moral power. The right to freedom of conscience before the State must be regarded as essential to religious liberty.

Brownson pointed out that the United States government "makes no public profession of religion . . . but it is not an infidel government; for it must protect the freedom of religion of everyone of its citizens, and protect it for all who profess it." [31] This recognition and guarantee of independence and full freedom to labor in the accomplishment of her spiritual mission is all the Church may legitimately demand of the State, Brownson argued. "That is precisely what the American state professes to do for her, in professing to do it for the religion of all its citizens, whatever it may be." [32] Brownson was attacked for this view by Americans who thought him too Catholic, and by Catholics who thought him too American. He regarded this religious liberty accorded to the citizen, and through the citizen to the Church, in the United States as especially valuable since it is part of the fundamental law or constitution of the United States. This guarantee, then, does not depend upon a concordat or treaty between the State and the Church. Indeed, Brownson's view was that the constitution of the

[31] *Works*, XII, 113, *Review*, April 1856, "The Day-Star of Freedom". Brownson's comment on the question of the relationship between Church and State with particular reference to America appears in numerous issues of the *Review*. He wrote extensively on the subject during the period when Native Americanism flourished in the United States. Most of his ideas will be found in Volumes XI, XII, XIII, and XVIII of the *Works*.

[32] *Ibid.*, XII, 22, *Review*, July, 1856, "The Church and the Republic". This article also contains Brownson's interpretation of the American constitution as a general concordat with all religions.

United States might be regarded as a general concordat with all religions in which our government admits that it has no jurisdictional competence in spiritual affairs, and protects the political and moral independence of all religion. This is a view we might well insist upon in the face of totalitarian threats to human liberty in our century.

An epic figure in controversy while he was alive, Brownson's fame did not outlive himself, except among a few friends. His harsh criticisms of many nineteenth-century shibboleths placed him in opposition to the spirit of his day. His acceptances were usually ungracious, and his assaults were usually vitriolic. Opposition only goaded him to renew his attacks, and censure left him undismayed. Refusing to write what the age wanted to read, he insisted on stating what he believed to be the truth. But, the subtle individualism of nineteenth-century America was too formidable an obstacle for him. He was against the spirit of the age. Against its force, his trenchant pen availed little. Even in his own day, his protests were drowned out by the loud voices of the enthusiasts of the times. Read with irritation and dislike during his life time, this irascible critic became a forgotten man soon after his death in 1876.

Today, we are more skeptical of some of the nineteenth-century dogmas he attacked. He saw flaws in them when others were singing their praises. If the dates were deleted from his articles, one might easily suppose that they had been written in our own time for our own generation. They have a peculiarly modern ring, for Brownson was a disillusioned man who lived and wrote a half century before our age of disillusionment.

PAUL R. CONROY

THE ORIGIN OF THE INVENTION OF PRINTING: ITS BACKGROUND *

Printing is synonymous to the modern mind with typography or printing with movable type; yet history knows of many modes of printing which had been practised centuries before the great Art of Typography was invented.

Printing or the art of impressing by means of certain forms and colors a variety of figures, pictures, letters, words, lines, or marks upon other objects may be said to be coëval with civilization. No sooner were the nations of the ancient world advanced a short way on the path of civilization than they began to use seals for stamping devices in ink or pigment on documents in order to vouch for their authentication. Among the antiquities of ancient Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria are found seals or graven instruments for making impressions, so-called matrices, and seal-impressions on various objects, originally on moist clay. As early as four thousand years before Christ the Egyptian kings had their official sealers and specimens of Babylonian and Assyrian seals going back to the same remote period, usually cut on precious stones; these are still preserved in the Oriental museums. Egyptian signet-rings which were used for sealing date back to about 2000 before Christ. In Europe, the use of seals among the early Greeks may be traced back to about 1500 before Christ. Numerous seal impressions in clay have been found coëval with those seal implements. Also specimens of engraved stones or pebbles, the so-called gems, have come down from ancient times (3500 B. C.) which served as seals and very often were mounted as finger-rings. Signet-rings began to be commonly used among the ancient Greeks from about 600 B. C. In Italy the Etruscans used seals extensively as early as the sixth century before Christ, and the Romans followed their lead somewhat later.

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While seals were thus widely used in the Near East and in Europe, a nation was to invent the use of seals in the Far East and to develop them into printing proper long before the Europeans discovered that art. This nation was the Chinese. In China the use of seals is first mentioned about 255 B. C. and it became general from 200 to 100 B. C. Seals were made of a variety of materials: gold, silver, copper, ivory, jade and horn. The seal-impressions were made like those in the Near East and Europe, in a soft substance, a sort of clay, and without a coloring matter. Many seal impressions have been preserved which had been made before the birth of Christ. In the fifth century after Christ the Chinese began to make seal impressions with red ink on paper, and in the seventh century seal impressions in clay had disappeared. In a similar way in Europe the seal impressions in clay were to be replaced by wax in medieval times.

Seals were indispensable in the household of any Greek and Roman family in the centuries preceding and following the Birth of Christ. Clement of Alexandria describes, about 195 A. D., the varied use of seals as follows:

> The Word, *i. e.*, Christ permits the matrons to wear a finger-ring of gold. This is not used for ornament but for sealing things which are worth keeping safe in the house. For if all were honest, there would be no need of seals. But since want of chaining articles produces an inclination to dishonesty, we require seals. Therefore matrons need seals to exercise their charge of housekeeping. If it be necessary for men to seal anything for the sake of safety, when away from their wives, Christ allows them a signet-ring for that purpose only. Other finger-rings are to be cast off.

The engravings on the Christian seals represent the sacred monograms and symbols and their impressions are preserved on many Christian utensils. The seal-impressions on pagan vessels, lamps and other articles were considered heathenish devices, some of them gross and revolting.

All these different modes of printing with seals were effected by hard engraved instruments impressing into a soft substance, clay or wax or paper. Yet in the seventh century before Christ coining of money was invented by the Greeks. In striking those coins,

inscriptions, busts, heads, monograms, symbols and mint-marks were impressed by dies and in some form of hammering on the blank sides of metal: gold, silver, copper, electrum, brass, potin, iron, nickel, and the like, by some form of hammering on a bar. By the fourth century the whole civilized world used coined money. The inscriptions or lettering which were stamped on the ancient coins comprised as many as fifteen, twenty and twenty-eight letters. Similarly the designs of ancient coins reproduce portraits, natural objects, like animals and plants, and artificial objects like arms, religious festivals and sacred sites.

This mode of printing with engraved stamps was extended to marking objects of less importance with some letters or devices. The Greeks and Romans stamped with metal dies their pottery and bread, branded their slaves and cattle and put their signatures to documents. From pre-Christian times the art and practice of stamping has come down to us in an uninterrupted succession, with this distinction that the metal stamps had to give way to the rubber stamp in modern times. On the seals as well as on the dies and stamps the lettering and picture is cut in reverted order to give an impression in the natural position of imprinted objects. Yet the modes of seal-printing and stamping differ as to the manner of placing the impression on the surface. By sealing an impression in relief is obtained either on a soft material such as clay, wax, paper, or on a harder material such as lead, silver or gold, by using an instrument whose designs are engraved on an equal surface. By stamping the opposite course is resorted to. The designs are cut in relief on the metal dies and the impression is made by indentation placing the counter-design or the inscriptions and pictures somewhat below the surface. Like the stamps, the cameos or gems are carved in relief. This art dates back to the fourth century before Christ but its products were never applied to printing purposes. The opposite process is the carving of intaglios, by which the pattern or design is sunk below the surface of the material, *viz.*, the stone. This art of cutting incised gems originated in the first century before Christ and was likewise only exercised for art sake.

While seal printing and stamping was carried on both in the East and the West on a large scale, a new mode of taking imprints was invented and practised in China from about the fourth century of our era, *viz.*, reproducing texts by rubbing against stone. In 175 A. D. the text of the Confucian Sacred Books was first cut in stone to insure accuracy. This practice was later often repeated. Some time in the third or fourth century the practice began of making inked rubbings from these inscriptions on stone. Without interruption this process of reprinting was carried on in China to our day and was transplanted to Japan. Large collections of books were printed in these countries in the course of time, by the use of the following method. A piece of felt is laid over the surface of the stone inscription, and over this is placed a sheet of cohesive paper which had been moistened. The paper, with the felt behind it, is then hammered or rubbed into every depression of the stone. As soon as the paper is dry, a pad dipped in ink is rubbed lightly over it. When the paper is finally peeled off, it is found to be imprinted with a perfect and durable impression of the inscription which comes out in white reserve on a black background. Since the ink is applied to the surface of the paper which is kept away from the stone by the felt, the text is not reversed. This sort of lithography remained unknown in the West.

The tools used in printing according to these different processes were all made of hard substances, and engraving of text and pictures could only be obtained by dint of hard labor. In the fourth century of our era, Chinese charm makers began to use a less hard and more tractable material, namely, wood. Large seals, made of wood, were used to print Taoist charms. A number of such charms was engraved on the same block which was large enough to place thereon a hundred and twenty characters. These large engraved blocks were used to make impressions on clay like all the other seal impressions of that time. About one or two hundred years later, some time during the fifth or sixth centuries, the transition took place from the clay impressions of wooden seals to the paper and ink impressions. The transition was without doubt gradual, and was the result of the increasing use of paper which had been invented in 105 A. D., and of red ink which had

been invented some time after 400 A. D. These inked seal impressions were made like the modern impressions of a rubber stamp. Finally, early in the eighth century of our era this method of stamping seals with ink on paper was developed into the block printing. We do not know the name of the inventive Chinese genius who conceived first the idea to turn his seal stamp upside down, lay paper on top of it, rub it with a brush and thereby take an impression from the wooden engraved block. Neither do we know the exact date when this invention of block printing was made in China. Yet we can say this much, that block printing was invented in China by Buddhist monks during the first half of the eighth century of our era. Buddhist monks carried the art to Japan, where about the year 770 A. D. the Empress Shotoku ordered a million charms to be printed according to this new way of taking impressions. We know that her order was carried out and all those charms were printed and distributed. Naturally the design stands in relief on the block and stands in reverse. Xylography or printing from wooden blocks has remained in China and the Far East as the prevalent mode of printing to this day.

In Europe block printing was rediscovered, independently of the East, at the beginning of the fifteenth century. According to recent researches block printing was invented by the German parish priest John Meister at Augsburg in 1407. At first the newly-discovered art was applied, as in China seven centuries before, to the production of prints or single woodcuts, but about the year 1470 was developed to printing of whole books, the so-called Block Books. We still have well-nigh three thousand prints produced prior to the year 1520, and about one hundred and fifty block books printed from 1470 to 1520. The last block book printed in Europe is generally assigned to about 1535. Typography or printing with movable type supplanted xylography completely about that date.

In China and the Far East, however, block printing was to remain the favorite mode of multiplying books up to our time. The oldest printed book which is still preserved was a Buddhist religious tract which was finished on May 11, 868 A. D. to be distributed gratis. It is the oldest printed book of the world we

know of. In 972, the Buddhist Sacred Books were printed from wooden blocks comprising 130,000 printed pages. In 1100, the Chinese began to print paper money also from wooden blocks. Together with block printing the orthodox Confucians imitated the Buddhist printing methods and developed a new process of taking rubbings by cutting the inscription in reverse and rubbing the paper directly over the stone-block. A considerable number of books have been printed by Confucians from such engraved stone blocks.

Textile printing made use of engraved wooden blocks to imprint designs or patterns in color on various kind of woven fabrics from time immemorial. Printing patterns on textiles, flax, cotton, and silk, by means of incised wooden blocks was practiced by the Chinese, Egyptians and Assyrians at a very early period, about 2000 B. C. The Greeks and Romans apparently were unacquainted with textile printing. However, from Egypt the art was transported into Gaul and from there spread to Germany and other countries during the Middle Ages. In China textile printing helped to prepare the way for the invention of block printing on paper early in the eighth century of our era. In Germany likewise textile printing preceded the practice of printing on paper by means of engraved blocks but there seems to be no conclusive proof that textile printing had a decisive influence on the invention of xylography. Textile printing always served a commercial purpose and the pattern stamped on the fabrics were of an ornamental character only.

Stencilling is another art which helped to prepare the way to printing texts on paper. The art of stencilling is very old in the Far East. It has been applied to the decoration of textile fabrics in Japan and China from earliest times. In the Buddhist monasteries of China the stencil or pounce was used extensively as a means of reduplication of sacred texts and books in the seventh century of our era. The pattern was cut out of a sheet of stout paper or thin metal with a knife, the uncut portions representing the part which was to be left uncolored. The sheet was then laid on the surface of the material, cloth or paper, to be colored; and the color was brushed through the interstices. Naturally, stencill-

ing is no mode of printing but rather a sort of painting. However, it has been applied from ancient times to printing textiles in color and it spurred Buddhist monks in China to develop the method of printing on paper from wooden blocks. In the West stencilling was practised also, but exerted little influence on the invention of xylography or typography.

Single letters were printed by sealing long before paper and ink were invented, in clay and wax, and even longer texts were stamped on the harder material of gold and silver in coining money or in setting marks on articles of furniture for identification and protection against theft. Yet all these printed letters and words served no literary purpose. In xylography the different characters were engraved on a common body.

Attempts, however, to print with movable type were made at various times both in the East and the West at a remote antiquity. The Babylonians and other eastern nations impressed their wedge-shaped inscriptions on tablets, prisms and cylinders of soft clay with a style and had them subsequently dried and burned in fire like bricks. We may call these cuneiform clay tablets, cylinders and prisms the oldest books in existence and their mode of production one of the various methods of printing practised in ancient times. These clay tablets go back to 4500 B. C., and they had been produced in the Near East uninterruptedly for four thousand years. The Greeks continued this mode of printing in their ostraka, *i. e.*, potsherds or fragments of pottery on which various Greek texts had been inscribed in their soft form and later burned in fire. Such ostraka were produced in Egypt up to the eighth century of our era. A nearer approach to printing with movable type was discovered in 1908 on the island of Crete, where an inscription was dug up which dates to pre-Grecian times, about 1600 B. C. This inscription was impressed into soft clay by separate stamps in a disk and this clay disk was later fired and hardened. The inscription is in hieroglyphic characters.

The time-honored art of stamping inscriptions on some material was applied in the Middle Ages by the kings and rulers to impress their monogram on their charters. Initial letters in manuscripts from the twelfth century onward, on account of their uniformity,

are believed to have been impressed by means of stamps or dice. Yet these impressions made by means of stamps are not typographical processes. A nearer approach is the inscription on the board placed in the monastic church at Pruefening in Bavaria, recording the consecration of the church on May 12, 1119. The monks applied the principle of typography in setting up the inscriptions, for the letters had been impressed into a soft substance by single isolated types. This is the first case of cast types being used in Europe. However, at the beginning of the fifteenth century bookbinders began to use cast types often to print titles, names, and inscriptions on their bindings by means of single insulated cast letters. This was a decided improvement on the primitive mode of printing attempted by these monks. A few years later, in 1445, Gutenberg ushered typography into existence, and printing with movable type by means of a press commenced its triumphal march throughout Europe. Yet four hundred years prior to this greatest of inventions in the West, typography or printing with movable type was invented in the Far East by the Chinese smith Pi Sheng (1041-1049) and spread about 1250 to Turkestan and in 1390 to Corea. The earliest extant book printed with movable type was issued in Corea in the year 1409, thirty-six years before the first extant piece of typography was struck off the press by Gutenberg at Mayence in Germany. Typography never thrived in China, yet Corea and Japan used it extensively.

Movable letters and printing with movable letters were quite familiar to antiquity; yet the art of typography or printing with movable letters by means of a press was discovered at a comparatively modern time both in the Far East as in the West. The principle of typography was expressed by the seals and stamps used for purposes of reduplications during thousands of years before our era. Cicero expressed the principle when he says that the annals of Ennius could be reproduced by throwing a great number of the spell-letters upon the earth, so that they readily could be read off (*De natura deorum*, II, 37). Quintilian narrates that the Roman children were given letters cut from ivory to play with and to assist them thereby in the art of learning to read (*Inst.*, II, 26.) St. Jerome recommended that method in the fourth century to the Roman matron Laeta (*Epist. ad Laetam*).

The highly civilized people of Greece and Italy harbored inventive geniuses who could have solved the problem of typography and could have forestalled the invention made in 1445 by Gutenberg. We may fairly put the question: Why did the great Greek and Roman geniuses not invent typography? Why was the invention of printing with movable type retarded for more than a thousand years both in the East and in the West? What factors were finally instrumental in bringing about the invention?

Some hold that lack of linen paper retarded this invention and the spread of cheap paper gave the great impetus to the invention of typography in the East as well as in the West. It is true that actually back of the invention of typography lies the invention of writing paper made of rags, hemp and the like. Rag paper was invented by the Chinese in the year 105 A. D., and the art of making it spread within the next six and seven hundred years over the Far and Near East, was introduced into Spain and Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and into Germany as late as the fourteenth century. Yet the Greeks and Romans possessed in papyrus and vellum other writing material which could have been used for printing purposes. As a matter of fact, the early printers of Europe issued many books printed with movable type on vellum. Moreover, cheap linen paper had been used in China for seven centuries before block-printing was invented and for over nine centuries before typography was invented. Similarly in the Near East the manufacture of paper was introduced among the Muslims in 704 and it took over a century and a half till printing from engraved copperplates was attempted in Egypt. Plate-printing was carried on among the Muslims on a very small scale. In 1147, bank notes were produced by plate-printing in Syria, and in 1293, a paper-money printing office was opened at Tabriz in Persia. In the course of time even a few books were printed in Muslim Persia from blocks of wood or copperplates. But these are isolated facts. On the whole printing in the shape of the unwieldy form of plate-printing remained practically unknown among the Muslims of Spain and the Near East, although cheap rag paper was used extensively by them. Typography, however, could not have been introduced among the Muslims any earlier than the year 1927.

In Europe cheap paper could not have been the great incentive for inventing typography, since the early printers used extensively the more expensive vellum or parchment. This much is true, that cheap paper facilitated printing, but never would have been such a powerful stimulus as to call forth the invention of typography. In view of the widespread waste of paper of a fine grade and the many ignoble purposes fine paper is subjected to by modern generations, we must regard as a psychological impossibility the contention that cheap paper was the direct cause of the invention of typography. There always had been large classes of people who would not buy books, however cheap. Cheapness may induce book-lovers to buy more books but will never tempt the sluggish and dull minds to sacrifice their farthings in the interest of books.

A group of historians credits the Renaissance in general with all good done in the fifteenth century and naturally the invention of typography or printing was according to this school of historians the fit consummation of the humanistic movement. George Haven Putnam in his great work *Books and their Makers During the Middle Ages* pompously heads the first chapter of the second part with the title *The Renaissance as the Forerunner of the Printing-Press.* Yet historians of our time are gradually giving up the sweeping theory of Jacob Burckhardt who had exaggerated the importance of the Renaissance so as to form it into a separate epoch of world history. Regarding the invention of typography we have conclusive evidence that the Renaissance movement had nothing to do with the invention of that great art. True, the later humanists were enthusiastic over the "new art". Yet, the motive power behind the invention lay outside the sphere of humanism.

We must premise that typography was invented in Germany in 1445. At that time Germany was regarded by the leading Humanists as a land of barbarism and the Renaissance had barely touched that northern country. In 1445, a few members of the Brethren of the Common Life had espoused the cause of humanism, the Italian humanists, Vergerio and Aeneas Silvius, had promoted it at the courts of the king of Hungary and the emperor of Germany. The German humanist, Peter Luder, was still studying in Padua. No German university had yet opened its doors to the New Learning.

It was only in 1456, eleven years after the invention of typography, that the Rev. Peter Luder was called to lecture on the Latin poets at the University of Heidelberg; he was the first humanist to teach at a German university. However, we cannot speak of humanism as a sort of literary movement in Germany before the year 1460. Naturally the passion for books prevailing in Germany in 1445 and calling forth the invention of printing cannot be credited to the influence of the Renaissance which at that time was still unknown at the birthplace of typography, Mainz.

Gutenberg, the inventor of typography, and his eventual customers were not inclined to humanism, as is plainly shown by the production of his press. The inventor of printing issued from 1445 to 1460 at least sixteen editions of the Latin grammar *Donatus,* a German poem, an astronomical and medical almanac, a German *Cisianus* or mnemonic survey of the ecclesiastical calendar, a German tract against the Turks, seven Latin letters of Indulgence, a Latin Bible, a Latin Psalter, and probably also a Latin Missal.[1] These were books which did not interest a humanist; most of them like the *Donatus, Cisianus,* the almanacs and German tracts were positively abhorred by any humanist of those days. The disciples of Gutenberg issued books which were even more shocking to the tastes of a humanist, like the *Catholicon, Vocabularius ex quo,* and the *Grammatica rhythmica.* At any rate the first classical book, Cicero's *De officiis,* was printed in 1465, twenty years after the invention of printing. Even this first edition of the classics was more in keeping with the medieval trend of education which made the heathen authors the mouthpieces of moral instruction. An edition of Cicero's orations would have satisfied better the humanistic tendency than the printing of Cicero's treatise on Duty.

At any rate the contributions of humanism to the press have been grossly exaggerated. From 1465, when the first humanistic book appeared in print, till 1500 the sum total of humanistic production forms only a little over ten percent of the general output and the sum total of the classics issued by humanists forms a little less than

[1] Seymour de Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence,* Mainz, 1911, 1-13, 25-36, 43-48, 73-74.

ten percent of the general output. Accordingly the Renaissance contributed only twenty percent to the book production of the fifteenth century.[2] The invention of printing having been neither the consequence of cheap paper, nor the outcome of the Renaissance must have had its roots in other causes, namely in the popular demand for books on the part of the various classes of the German people living on the borders of the Rhine.

Every great invention, even though the work of an individual, depends in its initial stages upon a variety of circumstances and needs of place and age. In regard to the invention of printing these circumstances are traceable ultimately to the democratic administration of the cities which sprang up in Germany during the four centuries extending from the ninth to the thirteenth. The powerful guilds worked their way up into the administration of the cities which at first had been governed exclusively by nobles. This democratic victory which placed the thriving burghers among the nobles in various municipal offices broke down the barriers which had been thrown up for centuries between the cultured nobles and the untutored burghers. On the one hand the nobles educated in a Latin school, essentially the same in every country of Europe, brought their international culture into harmony with the national aspirations and sentiments of the German burghers. The latter, on their part, gained by their associations with the nobles a certain amount of the refined manners of the former. This refinement at first was restricted to the cultivation of the material side of everyday life. Gradually, however, the literary and artistic tastes of the burghers were ennobled, so that the appreciation for the productions of art and literature spread more and more among the middle classes of the German nation. By the middle of the fourteenth century a new era of intellectual and cultural life had begun its course. One university after the other was founded; numerous schools were established and frequented by children and adults; princes and barons collected books and established libraries in their castles, and in the cloisters the monks revived their traditional literary activity with new zest. The paper manufacture reduced the enormous price of books and writing material within the reach of

[2] Lenhart, *Pre-Reformation Printed Books*, New York, 1935, 61-67.

moderate affluence. In numerous schools the art of reading and writing was learnt with great ease. Increased reading knowledge created increased demand for books. In the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the demand for bibles, prayer-books, devotional tracts, scientific treatises, almanacs, romances and similar popular works grew to such dimensions that town clerks, school teachers, notaries public, mass-priests, hermits and others versed in the art of writing chose the occupation of book-making as an additional source of income competing with the professional text-writers and stationers. Regular shops were established for transcribing books, and handwritten books of every description were produced on a large scale. A flourishing book-trade was developing with businesslike organization prior to the invention of printing.

This literary tendency was accompanied with a taste for the productions of art. The demand for artistic creations, it is true, did no longer call forth such gigantic monuments as the far-famed cathedrals of the thirteenth century. Rather smaller artistic creations were produced to meet the demand of a practical democratic-minded people. Among the middle classes the taste for artistic productions was spreading which would minister to the ease and comfort of the wealthy burghers and improve and refine the manners of the lower classes. The artists naturally accommodated themselves to the personal needs of the thriving burghers, and their creations instilled into the minds of the rising generations that appreciations for things artistic which later forced the earliest printers to produce books of artistic perfection.

The increasing commerce which placed the goods of the Far and Near East within reach of the German people necessitated the acquisition of the art of reading and writing on the part of ever-increasing larger groups. The artisans and workingmen needed books which instructed them in writing and arithmetic to be able to conduct their correspondence and keep their accounts. The rising business corporations and the guilds increased the need of a higher education, especially in Latin, to be able to carry on a trade with foreign countries on a larger scale and in an international tongue: Latin. The text-writers could not well supply all the

books needed for instruction and it was only the art of typography which could squarely meet the demand.

Thus an intense craving for books was created among the upper and middle classes of the German people on the eve of the invention of printing. The clergy and nobility, the traditional guardians of education and science, joined hands with the newly-risen burghers in promoting the interests of intellectual and artistic culture. The copyists were unable to satisfy the ever-increasing demand for new copies of books. A hurried production with all its disadvantages was the result of this over-demand. To rush the work of copying, scribes often neglected to consult the original and wrote portions of the text from memory. Half-educated persons took to transcribing books and produced works full of mistakes. Even scientific books were often written as dictated. Scholars might lament the inaccuracy of handwritten books, but the demand continued to grow with every year.

To remedy these evils inventive geniuses turned their attention to the problem of quicker, cheaper, and more accurate manifolding of books by means of mechanical devices. The solution of the problem was the invention of typography. Printing with movable type was the artisan's response to the over-demand for books. The latter created the former. Schmoller proved this point well by referring to the later invention of the spinning machine. "The invention of printing," he says, "was the direct consequence of the universal spread of the art of writing (and reading) in no other way than the rise of the weaver's trade in the eighteenth century necessitated the invention of the spinning machine to meet the demand which hand-spinning no longer could satisfy."

The invention of typography by Gutenberg at Mainz was the crowning stroke of the popular movement for culture and education which had been exerting its beneficial influence on the banks of the Rhine for a whole century. Mainz, the birthplace of typography, was no university city in 1445 (the university was founded only in 1477), and, therefore, the books which were in demand were not of a scientific character. Book-making and book-selling in Europe originated in two different centres: the stationeries of the university-cities and the shops of the text-writers in other cities.

In Germany the first class of book-makers never attained the importance of their fellow-tradesmen in the universities of France and Italy. In Germany, however, the text-writers or independent copyists of the various cities gained the first place in the production of books prior to the invention of printing. Their customers naturally did not demand such learned and professional books as the customers of the stationers. To suit the tastes of the thriving burghers the copyists had to produce more popular books. In the fifteenth century, as in the twentieth, popular books were bought in spite of mistakes in the text. The book-lovers did not clamor so much for accurate texts but more for new copies of books. Scholars certainly were more disposed to procure correct texts at greater expense, but the masses preferred cheap, though faulty, books, to more expensive and accurate texts. The inventor of typography met the demand for popular books, as the list of the titles of his productions will readily reveal to anyone. The first books printed were just such books which were demanded and bought by the educated and half-educated common people of Germany. Accordingly, the invention of printing was necessitated by the strong demand for popular books and the greatest of arts, the art of printing, was made not at the seats of learning but at the seat of piety.

The German universities exerted no direct influence upon the invention of printing. They were not frequented so largely as those of France and Italy and never attained the cosmopolitan character of French and Italian institutions; they remained rather national or even provincial institutions during the Middle Ages. The wealthy nobles and burghers sent their sons to foreign universities, so that the students of German universities were recruited from the rather poorer classes. The natural result of these conditions was a very subordinate rôle played by German universities in the production and sale of books. Yet to offset this drawback the multiplication of handwritten books and the corresponding trade of book-selling in non-academic circles of Germany were to become extensive. The text-writers in the cities produced besides Latin works a great number of books in German for the general public catering to the literary taste even of the lowest classes. This

situation explains the fact that book-making and book-selling prior to the invention of printing had developed in Germany on a more extensive and businesslike scale than in other European countries. This heavy trade in books was not occasioned, as in Italy, France, England and Spain, by the literary aspirations of university circles; it radiated from the educated and half-educated classes of the German people at large. Through her book-loving citizens Germany gained an ascendancy over her political neighbors in regard to the intellectual maturity of her common people. From her reading and writing burghers went forth the strong impulses which set the genius of Gutenberg to invent that "new art" which Archbishop Berthold of Mainz hailed in 1486 as a sort of divine art (*divina quaedam ars*) and which led the Prefect of the Vatican Library, Bishop Andreas of Aleria, in 1458 to call Germany "a country to be extolled and revered by all generations to come". Typography was invented, not in the university centres, but in the capital of an episcopal free state, in Mainz, which is called "The Golden".

The question why printing was invented in Germany and particularly on the banks of the Rhine, can only find its answer in the fact that Germany in 1445 harbored a people whose culture surpassed that of surrounding countries. Germany could not have become the cradle of printing and the banks of the Rhine could not have become the home of typography, if a less advanced culture had prevailed in Mainz and the numerous cities along the Rhine. In that favored valley a uniform and high grade of civilization had developed many years earlier than in other districts of the empire. In these cities was prepared and first effected the most momentous revolution of German mercantile conditions, namely the transition from payment in kind to payment in money. In these cities there flourished later in the thirteenth century that highly developed culture and wealth whose monuments of stone still tower against the sky. It is surely not by mere chance that in the waters of the Rhine and its affluents are reflected the most beautiful German cathedrals. The Rhenish cities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries developed and maintained an elevated state of intellectual life which did not find a counterpart in any other

province of the empire. The powerful ecclesiastical electorates did not spring up on the banks of the Rhine and its affluents by mere chance, the heart-beat of the Holy Roman Empire pulsated there not by mere chance and the destinies of Europe were determined there by the college of electors. In the cities of the three independent sovereign ecclesiastical electors lived the cultured burghers who called forth and supported first of all the new invention. "There is no other invention", wrote the priest James Wimpfeling in 1507, "of which Germans may be so proud as that of printing which has made them the benefactors of humanity".[3]

The other question why typography was not invented by the classical people of Greece and Rome and why it was retarded for over a thousand years among the Christian people of Europe is answered by the plain statement that there was no need of it before the fifteenth century. In Greece as well as in Rome a flourishing book-trade was carried on which reached its zenith during the first centuries of the Christian era. Moreover, transcribing books was regarded as menial labor to be performed by slaves. Whilst Athens could count her slave-copyists by tens, Rome could number them by thousands. By dictating a single text to numerous slaves and have them writing it down simultaneously, the Romans were able to turn out a thousand copies of a small book in one day. The wholesale production of hand written books at that time surpassed that of many a printshop of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The prices of books were very moderate according to modern standards.

The Greeks and still more the Romans practically produced books on the scale of the early printing press. Imperial Rome did not feel the need of a larger multiplication of literary works; there was no need of a printing press, since the slave-scribes supplied its place. However, demand for and supply of books were not proportionate to normal conditions of a cultured nation. Half of the people, namely the women, were excluded from the reading public,

[3] The Renaissance was only a literary movement and never reached the middle and lower classes. The books printed in Italy prior to the Reformation met only demands of the upper classes unlike those printed in Germany and the Netherlands. Cf. Lenhart, *Pre-Reformation Printed Books*, 72-80.

since education was restricted to the male sex. Girls received either no education or only a very rudimentary one. When they grew into womanhood, they were deprived of further education by the common prejudice which according to the dictum of Juvenal held educated ladies "more unbearable than bibulous women". Education remained the privilege of women of dubious character. Yet the education imparted to the Roman boys was very mediocre according to modern standards and was imported by private tutors and slaves. Neither the Greek nor Roman government cared for education and it was only after the first century of our era that a few teachers of higher studies received a salary from the government. All the teachers of the lower and higher grades had to eke out their scanty living by giving private lessons and lived in a state of life which now would be regarded as simply disgraceful. Considering the limitations of literary life in ancient Rome, the book production must be regarded as falling below the normal output of a cultured nation. The supply satisfied only a limited demand of the class of free-born Romans or emancipated slaves and a handful of Roman ladies who defied the common prejudice; the stationers or their slaves supplied them with the books they wished.

The advance of the Christian religion effected a gradual change in the evaluation of education and in the fourth century the education of girls had made progress in Christian homes. In the early Middle Ages we find the ladies and matrons at the courts of princes and rulers and at the castles of the barons more educated than their knightly husbands. However, up to the fourteenth century education remained practically the privilege of the clergy, the monks and the nobles. The necessary books could well be supplied by the stationers and copyists, so that there was no need of the printing press. It was only after the middle classes of the burghers and citizens had espoused the cause of education that century-old conditions were changed, that supply could no more meet the demand and the printing press became a necessity to the cultured world. In Italy the Renaissance had been in a flourishing condition for a full century before the need of the printing press was felt (1465), and even long after in certain humanistic circles printed books were regarded as beneath consideration and excluded from

the libraries of the artistic booklovers. To furnish every schoolboy with a primer, every Christian man and woman with a prayerbook and the general reading public with entertaining pieces of literature was beyond the power of the pen: typography had to be invented. Book-selling had flourished in ancient Rome to a greater extent than at any time during the Middle Ages. With the printing press was ushered in a book-trade which had no parallel in ancient and medieval history.

Historic facts are unique entities which never will be repeated with all incidental details. The so-called repetitions of history are similar facts which will furnish many points of illustration to the historian. China alone, of all ancient nations invented and practised the art of printing similarly to medieval Europe. In the fourth century of our era Taoists invented and practised the art of block printing to strike off image prints from wooden blocks. Early in the eighth century of our era Chinese Buddhists invented block printing proper or the art of printing whole books from engraven wooden blocks, the so-called art of zylography. Both inventions were rediscovered in Europe as late as the fifteenth century. In 1407, the parish-priest, John Meister of Augsburg, discovered image-printing from wooden blocks and about 1470, printing of books from engraved wooden blocks was similarly invented in southern Germany. Between 1041 and 1049, the Chinese smith, Pi Cheng, invented the art of typography which four centuries later, in 1445, was rediscovered by Gutenberg at Mainz. Typography never thrived in China, yet Corea and Japan used it extensively. Blockprinting remained in China the favorite art of printing to this day and has never yet been surpassed by the latest models of typography imported into modern China.[4]

A comparison between the processes of printing in the Far East and in Europe reveals a great diversity in the valuation of both arts on the part of East and West. The Far East considers block printing as the real and perfect mode and regards movable type a rather unimportant later addition. Europe considers typography

[4] Carter, Thomas Francis, *The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westwards*, New York, 1925, 21-185; Hartmann, *Entwicklung der Literatur*, Leipzig, 1908, 48 sq.

as the height of perfection and regards xylography as a rather clumsy mode of printing. The distinction is caused by the difference of writing of the various languages. The writing of the languages of Europe is based upon the alphabet and typography is best adapted to reproduce it. The writing of the languages of the Far East is based upon some forty thousand separate symbols or ideographs. Since typography required such an enormous mass of type material, its advantages were outweighed, so that movable type had seldom been practical or economical before the invention of modern machines which made large wholesale printing possible.

In China typography was invented as an unfinished art which was later perfected. In Europe typography was ushered in by Gutenberg in all the splendor and glory of perfection. Pi Cheng's type was made of earthenware and set in an iron form. An improvement of his system had both type and form made of earthenware. A further improvement furnished type made of tin with perforations to set it in place by use of a wire. Inking of these types had always remained unsatisfactory till wooden type began to be used. A new device of type-setting was invented for them. Finally in 1403, the first metal type was cast and used.

The dynamic force which created the demand for printing was on the whole the same in the East and West, namely religion. The sacred art of the Taoists gave the world the first image-prints. The sacred art of Chinese Buddhists followed with Buddhist printed pictures and block-printing of Buddhist sacred texts. Confucians followed in printing their sacred books (932-953). Buddhist books began to be printed in Japan in the twelfth century and in Central Asia in the thirteenth century. In the thirteenth or even in the twelfth century Muslims printed parts of their sacred books from copper-plates in Egypt. Thus the great religions of the East gave the impetus to printing and every new territory into which printing advanced was made a spiritual conquest to a certain form of religion by means of multiplying sacred pictures and sacred texts. In the West, however, religion exerted some force upon the invention of printing but its influence was not so compelling and decisive as that of the pagan religions of the East. In Catholic Europe sacred pictures were also the first productions of printing, yet

typography entered upon its mission by issuing first profane books. We find a strong religious influence back of the invention of the art of printing but this influence is not so direct as in China. The Taoists and Buddhists who invented block printing intended to use their production as agencies to spread their religions. The books issued from the press of the first printers had no missionary purpose; they were printed to quicken the piety of the Catholic people and to convey secular instructions as aids to piety.

Blockprinting was invented in China during the most strongly religious period of Chinese history. Typography was invented in Germany during a period of disintegration within the Church when spirituality was on the decline. This contrast is easily explained by reflecting on the great difference between the pagan religions and Christianity. The pagan religions are all book religions taking sacred books as their highest guides and naturally considering the propagation of their sacred texts as a sacred duty. The Catholic religion, on the contrary, is a living religion propagated by a body of authoritative teachers who in fulfilling their mission are not dependent upon any book, not even the Bible, but are guided by the Holy Ghost. If the religion of the medieval people had been a book religion, surely typography would have been invented earlier, say in the third or thirteenth century, and the press would have been busy for centuries, as in China in printing nothing but sacred texts or Bibles.

Yet typography is the glory of the Church. True, the Church was not directly engaged in bringing about that most important and most powerful invention for civilization. Printing could not have been invented, if the lower classes had remained illiterate. If we have no other record of the intellectual life of the European people of the fifteenth century than the short record that printing was invented in the fifteenth century, our mental vision would read in that short sentence the record of a common people craving for intellectual nourishment, of large groups of men and women so educated as to value the blessing of books, of hard-working citizens who were eager to sacrifice their farthings to procure and treasure the productions of the press, of numerous grammar schools with countless numbers of pupils promoted and protected by the Church.

Accordingly, the invention of printing is the most convincing vindication of the Church's mission as civilizer of the medieval nations, a vindication so powerful that all charges made against her are answered by a medieval art which is the result of intellectual maturity of a whole nation and the achievement of such perfection that it remains essentially the same, after well nigh five hundred years' progress, as of yore when Gutenberg ushered it into existence in the shadow of the cathedral at Mainz.

JOHN M. LENHART

PIONEERS IN SACKCLOTH *

Skyscrapers rise today where once humble pioneers built ungainly log cabins. Magnificent cathedrals mark the places where rude chapels stood, monuments to those pioneers in sackcloth whose rôle in the spread of civilization in the new world has been too often ignored. "From belfries in Texas," says Bolton, "still ring bells cast in Spain and bearing the royal arms." Their clarion call rings out today as it did more than two centuries ago, mellow and soothing like the spirit of the men who brought them. From Georgia to San Francisco, dotting the landscape of our Southwest, are the imposing ruins of Spanish missions. The conquistador blazed a trail of desolation in his ruthless search for wealth and glory, the greedy miner left ugly scars on mountain sides and native races, but the kindly *padre* salved the wounds, comforted the ailing, taught the untutored, and saved the souls of countless heathens while leading them in the peaceful pursuits of civilization. Among the pioneers of Texas he stands a magnificent figure wrapped in humble sackcloth, giving all for the joy of service and the hope of martyrdom. To him the salvation of human beings was more precious than gold, the transformation of unconquered savages into civilized Christians more important than the subjugation of empires. He was, in fact, the standard bearer of civilization, for under his patient and loving care the untrained Indian learned to till the soil, to master the arts and crafts, and to acquire habits of industry.

We are just beginning to appreciate the work of the missionary as a pioneer. Foremost in the advance of the frontier, we find him almost always on foot, side by side with the conquistador and the explorer. When the enthusiasm of the soldier and the adventurer wavered, he held out new horizons and appealed to their Christian duty to secure support for the spread of the faith and of civilization. If this failed to arouse interest, he conjured the

* Paper read at the dedication exercises of the San Jacinto Memorial Museum of History, Houston, Texas, April 20, 1939.

threat of foreign aggression, the dreaded boogey man of Spanish officials. Frequently he blazed the trail alone, penetrating far into unknown lands in search of converts. No hardship was too great, so sacrifice beyond his power of endurance, no suffering unbearable.

"Only with extreme difficulty can we of this twentieth century age comprehend the ideal which inspired the missionary pioneer of our Southwest," says the great historian of California. "We can understand why men should struggle to conquer a wilderness for the wealth which it will yield; tunnel mountains to bring forth gold from their interior; build roads of steel over, through, or under them to develop and transport their treasurer; construct their irrigation works to cause the desert to bloom; or apply science to the art of agriculture in order to make two blades grow where formerly there was but one. All of these kinds of effort to exploit the wealth of an undeveloped country and make it habitable by civilized man we can understand and we approve. But almost incomprehensible to us is the sixteenth century ideal which brought to the Southwest its first pioneers of European civilization — the brown-mantled Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries."

It seems, indeed, incredible that the unselfish sons of Saint Francis should have undertaken such hardships and overcome what seemed insurmountable obstacles only to try to gain the conversion of ungrateful natives who so frequently disdained their efforts and repaid them with murderous vengeance. But it is necessary to remember that to these men the injunction of the Master, "Go ye into the whole world and teach all nations" was not a mere figure of speech, not an abstract ideal, but an implicit command which they were ready, willing, and anxious to fulfill. The profound sincerity of these men was repeatedly demonstrated in the superb manner in which they made the supreme sacrifice when called upon to shed their blood. "Run ye my children, for you are young and fleet of feet," pleaded Fray Juan de Padilla with his companions as he calmly prepared to receive the shock of the approaching horde of blood-crazed Indians in the Llano Estacado. Two hundred years later, on the banks of the San Sabá, Fray Santiesteban knelt reverently before the altar, his head bowed in prayer to receive the death blow of the infuriated Comanches.

The greatest historian of our Spanish Southwest has vividly described their character and the impelling force of their unselfish endeavors. These men, Bolton says,

> came inspired by zeal for the saving of souls. Many of them were sons of distinguished families who might have occupied positions of honor and distinction in Europe; most of them were men of liberal education; nearly all of them were zealous for the faith and wholly uninterested in private gain. Yet the country where they worked is now full of deluded men who are looking for the lost and hidden treasure of missionaries of olden time. Vain task! for the true soldier of the Cross was occupied in conquering the wilderness not for gold, but for the heathen souls which it would yield.

Vain task indeed! empty shadows of Coronado's children, legends of Spanish wealth and horded treasures which public imagination has forged, misled by detractors and confused by the unselfishness of the humble soldiers of Christ. The missionary saw in the vast expanse of what today constitutes the State of Texas countless natives who roamed its plains, lived along its streams, or infested the timber belt ignorant of the existence of God or the means of salvation. What mattered if there were no mines, no pearls, no treasures? To him the question in this instance was the same that had stood out in his mind from the moment the new world was discovered. How were the millions of human beings that lived in the newly-discovered territories to be brought to a realization of Christianity and the ordered processes of civilization? The answer was the Spanish mission, a unique institution unknown to the English or the French.

The Spanish mission, of which eloquent remains are found throughout the entire Southwest, was a frontier institution designed to Christianize and civilize the native races of America. They may rightly be called the greatest civilizing influence in the conquest of the new world. They were in reality the first vocational schools, the first agricultural experimental stations, the first industrial centers, the first self-government units, the first health and amusement centers, in a word the first and only civilizing agency for the native races in Texas. What did they accomplish, ask the skeptics? Moss-crowned ruins, piles of crumbling rocks, time-scarred spires precariously poised on weakened foundations

are all that remain as mute evidence of their work. So have the log cabin, the covered wagon, the one-blade plow disappeared. But just as these were the heralds of our modern era, so were the missions the forerunners of civilization in Texas under whose benevolent protection flourished for the first time agriculture, industry, and the arts.

Just as Cortés marched into the interior of Mexico in 1519 to conquer the Aztec empire. Pineda sailed along the Gulf coast from Florida to Veracruz, mapping the coastline of Texas for Francisco Garay, Governor of Jamaica. Futile attempts to establish a colony at or near the mouth of the Rio Grande followed, which eventually caused Garay to fall into the hands of Cortés in 1523 and to die, poor and disillusioned, before the end of the year in the house of his rival. The sanguinary Nuño de Guzmán next attempted to occupy the Rio Grande and sent his cousin Sancho de Caniedo to establish a settlement that resulted in another failure. Fate dashed upon the barren shores of Texas on or near the western extremity of Galveston Island the wretched survivors of the ill-starred Narvaez expedition one November day in 1528 and accidentally brought to Texas its first bishop-elect Fray Juan Xuárez, one of the twelve Franciscans of Mexico. Strange coincidence that on the same spot more than three centuries later the first diocese should have been formally erected. Fray Juan Xuárez and the others, with the exception of four, perished in the area between Galveston Island and the mouth of the Colorado. Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions survived incredible sufferings, making their way to Mexico eight years later. Coronado from Mexico and De Soto from Florida, both bringing the first missionaries for the conversion of natives, converged simultaneously on Texas, giving us the first martyr of the Southwest in Fray Juan de Padilla. Strange design of Providence that brought almost within reach of each other two far-distant expeditions upon the borders of the great plains of Texas in 1541. Once more Europeans were to visit the State by accident before organized and systematic attempts, mainly through missionary endeavors, were undertaken for its formal occupation. In 1553 the inhospitable and uninviting Padre Island, extending from Corpus Christi to Brownsville, suddenly rang with the excited

bustle of almost a thousand victims cast upon its shore. Short-lived was the hope that stirred the hearts of the unfortunate survivors. The fierce coastal tribes attacked them mercilessly and before the Rio Grande was crossed only thirty remained, whose misery was ended shortly thereafter. Three Dominican missionaries were thus martyred in south Texas less than ten years after Fray Juan de Padilla met his death on the banks of the Canadian.

The tragic experiences of chance visitors to Texas had cooled the ardor of conquistadors and adventurers alike, but aroused an intense desire in the heart of the ever zealous missionaries to bring to the wild inhabitants of the unexplored regions of Texas the comforts of religion and the blessings of civilization. The seventeenth century saw that spark fanned into a flame by the strange delegation of Jumano Indians, who one day in July, 1639, came to old Isleta in New Mexico to solicit missionaries to visit their country and instruct their people. From the land where the blood of martyrs had generously been shed now came a voice inspired by the miraculous apparition of the Woman in Blue, the saintly María de Ágreda, whose memory still lingered among the Tejas Indians half a century later when Fray Damián Massanet visited east Texas for the first time in 1689. From the visit of the Jumanos dates the systematic planning that ultimately resulted in the establishment of missions where the pioneers of the Church were to begin their work of civilization.

The central figure in the new advance that was to cross the Rio Grande in Texas in the vicinity of Eagle Pass was a Franciscan friar from Guadalajara, Mexico, unknown and unsung until very recently. Fray Juan Larios and his companions were the first to begin the work in 1674-1676. From this time missionary activity never again died out. Rather it gained momentum, until it culminated in the establishment of missions that were to spread from the El Paso area, occupied in 1680, to the vicinity of Presidio and as far as the Concho River, hence to east Texas beyond the Neches River, from where the wave was to roll back to San Antonio and La Bahia. Contrary to general belief the first formal attempts to Christianize the Indians who lived within the present limits of Texas were not the result of the search for treasure, nor the fear

of foreign aggression. They were the result of the earnest desire of Franciscan missionaries to expand their field of activity.

The all-enveloping gloom that hung heavily over the vast expanse of Texas was first dispelled momentarily by the torch of Christian civilization raised by Fray Juan de Padilla and his companions only to be quickly snuffed out. Again it shone accidentally for a brief moment on the Gulf coast, held high by Dominican missionaries cast upon the barren shores of Padre Island. Along the Rio Grande from Presidio to El Paso and across the great plains it sent its fitful light during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, as the Rodriquez-Chamuscado, Espejo, Castillo de Sosa, Humaña, and Oñate expeditions made their way to New Mexico and explored the great plains to the east. Desultory bands accompanied by ambitious missionaries penetrated the State to the headwaters of the Brazos and the Colorado in the first half of the seventeenth century, but the light they carried was quickly swallowed by the impenetrable darkness. Fray Juan Larios and his companions vainly tried to establish permanent missions near Eagle Pass. The great revolt of 1680, that drove the Spaniards out of New Mexico, finally resulted in the founding of the first permanent mission within the present limits of Texas at Isleta, where at last the torch of civilization was firmly planted and where to this day descendents of the faithful Tiguas live.

It was from here that in December, 1683, Frays Nicolás López, Juan de Zavaleta, and Antonio de Acevedo set out for La Junta (present Presidio) to find the first temporary missions in this area before the end of the year. There they were joined by Captain Juan Domínguez de Mendoza and his men, with whom they proceeded east to the Pecos and beyond to the Conchos River, near present San Angelo. Near the site of this city they built the temporary mission of San Clemente. For more than three months they gave daily instruction to the numerous natives that came to visit them. The work of civilization had begun.

The most significant incident of this *entrada* was, however, the presentation to Mendoza of a white taffeta flag with two blue *fleur de lys*. Here was a French flag in possession of the natives living on the Pecos, given to Mendoza and Father López in January, 1684, more than a year before La Salle landed on the Texas coast.

This is a clear indication that French explorers or traders had penetrated far into west Texas long before the establishment of Fort Saint Louis on Matagorda Bay.

But it was the accidental discovery that La Salle had established a colony on the Gulf coast that electrified Spanish officials both in Spain and in America and gave the zealous missionaries their opportunity to be escorted to the interior of the coveted Province of the Tejas by the veteran emplorer Alonso de León. When at the end of four years of feverish excitement and superhuman efforts the baffling colony on Garcitas Creek was at last discovered, misfortune, sickness, and the Indians had removed the threat. But it was necessary to guard against a repetition of the incident. The friars of the College of Querétaro came forward immediately with an offer to establish missions, and soon the sons of this illustrious College established for the propagation of the faith were on the way to east Texas to begin the work of Christianization and civilization. With incredible rapidity two missions were established by the energetic Fray Damián Massanet and his companions before the end of 1691. For three more years the woods resound with the activity of the missionaries and the soldiers. Fields are cultivated, orchards planted, and cattle introduced. The natives are gathered and instructed with endless patience and loving sympathy in the countless tasks of civilized life. The novelty attracts large numbers and the enthusiasm and joy of the missionaries knows no limits. But the Indians soon tired of ordered life and the restrictions of organized society. They soon became surly and threatened the very existence of the *Padres*. The light that glowed so bright grew dim, until one night, the small band of disheartened soldiers and disappointed missionaries was forced to steal away, after burying the mission bells and small cannon, and setting fire to the missions. Darkness closed upon the natives once more.

Until very recently it had been thought that the vast area from Eagle Pass to El Paso had witnessed little or no missionary activity. The early visit of Father López and Mendoza in 1683, however, was followed by irregular missionary activity which resulted in the formal reëstablishment of missions in the vicinity of Presidio one year before the Ramón expedition set out from San Juan Bautista

to reoccupy permanently the country of the Tejas. But the missions at La Junta present an interesting contrast. They were reborn without the establishment of a military fort. Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan Antonio García were the pioneer Franciscans who in 1715 planted firmly the light of a new era on the threshold of the Big Bend country. There in Mission San Francisco de los Conchos the two missionaries stayed "to work among the natives" who had promised to bring two boys ten years old from each Indian nation "to live with the *Padres* in order to learn Spanish and be instructed in the *Doctrina* that they might help the missionaries in their work."

Father Massanet and some of his companions had lost interest in the natives of Texas after their discouraging experience in 1694. But one *Padre* in particular, had not lost faith in those for whose salvation he still hoped. "If Father Massanet's faith had been shaken, that of others, like Father Francisco Hidalgo, was to remain undimmed and to burn steadily like a flaming beacon on the outposts of New Spain. From the missions in Coahuila this remarkable missionary was to watch constantly for an opportunity to return to his beloved Tejas Indians, who one day were to come in search of him even though it should be in company with the traditional and inveterate enemies of Spain, the French." The dream of this man was to be realized twenty years later. To him we owe the reoccupation of east Texas.

"With heart burning for the welfare of his former ungrateful charges, he had made many earnest appeals to be allowed to return to Texas." St. Denis' appearance in the Rio Grande in 1714 was not the result of accident. The letters of Father Hidalgo to the governor of Louisiana had brought the adventurous trail-blazer to the Spanish frontier, and the fear of French incursion soon sent the missionaries back to the land of the Assinais Confederacy. The Ramón expedition, guided by St. Denis himself now under Spanish employ, escorted a remarkable group of missionaries back to east Texas in 1716. Among them, leading, one might say, the phalanx of gallant soldiers of Christ, was the now gray-haired Father Hidalgo slightly bent by the inexorable passage of time, but still firm, his face beaming with joy at his return to the beloved Tejas.

Two others deserve to be singled out: Father Felix de Espinosa and the saintly Father Margil de Jesús. Of these Bolton has justly said they were "two of Spain's most distinguished men in America". Espinosa was from the College of Querétaro, a man of learning and literary ability, yet humble and deeply devoted to the helpless and ignorant natives. After two years he was called from Texas to take up work in Michoacán. To his facile and realistic pen we owe the indispensable *Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica*, the first printed account dedicated wholly to the missionary endeavors of the College of Querétaro, besides a history of the Province of Michoacán, the little known *Cronica* of the Province of San Pedro and San Pablo, and many other works. The venerable Father Antonio Margil de Jesús is too well known to require a eulogy. A true disciple of the Master, he followed in His footsteps, preaching to Spaniards and Indians alike from Guatemala to Texas, ever on foot, sparing no hardships, thinking only of the comforts of others. He founded the College of Zacatecas, built Mission San José in San Antonio, and established Mission San Miguel almost on the banks of Arroyo Hondo where today stands the city of Robelin in Louisiana. He has been declared venerable and his virtues heroic by the Church and even now his cause of canonization is nearing completion. Such were the pioneers in sackcloth who traversed the length and breadth of Texas in search of human beings to comfort and teach, human souls to save from death everlasting, carrying to every part of the State the arts and crafts of civilization as the handmaids of conversion.

New workers poured into the State. Six missions were immediately founded in east Texas. Two years later the site of San Antonio saw the Mission of Valero rise, conjured as it were, by the fervent zeal of another remarkable missionary, Father Antonio de San Buenaventura Olivares. Here numerous natives from different coastal tribes were congregated, taught how to till the soil, how to care for livestock, how to carve wood and stone, how to weave cloth, and how to live as civilized men, while learning the teachings of Christianity. But this notable mission was not only to be the nursery of thousands of natives born to Christianity and civilization, but also the cradle of Texas independence, the im-

mortal Alamo, from which Travis was to send the ringing call that brought forth a new nation.

The French thrust of 1719 brought Margil to San Antonio, where the saintly man found employment while waiting to return to east Texas in erecting San José, one day to become the finest mission in all new Spain, whose neophytes learned the arts and crafts of civilized men so well that no Spanish overseers were needed for any of its multiple industries and activities. Here a sugar mill was operated, looms turned out cloth comparable to that of Puebla, soap was first manufactured, and stone cutters, under the direction of the kindly *Padres*, left forever carved in stone the loveliest window found today in the entire Southwest, while the exquisite designs of the façade of the mission are still the wonder and admiration of artists and laymen alike.

Let the meticulous, almost fastidious Franciscan historian of the missions, the observant and painstaking Father Fray Juan Agustín Morfi, describe this mission and its achievements. It is, in truth, he exclaims,

> the first mission in America, not in point of time but in point of beauty, plan, and strength, so that there is not a presidio along the entire frontier that can compare with it. . . . A granary was built along side, of stone and mortar. . . . There is also a loom in which rich blanquets, cotton cloth, sackcloth, and other heavy cotton and woolen cloths worn by the Indians are woven. There is a carpenter shop, a blacksmith shop, a tailor shop, and everything needed in a well-regulated community. . . . The new church is a beautiful temple with three vaulted naves, fifty *varas* long and ten wide with its transept. . . . This building because of its size, good taste, and beauty, would grace a large city as a parish church. The whole structure is admirably proportioned and strongly built.

In spite of official indifference, born of apathy rather than antagonism, the missionaries' desire to reach out to all parts of the State seemed insatiable. Soon we find Father Augustín Patrón, who had nursed Margil during the Ramón expedition and had later been assigned to San José, going to the coast to found in 1722 Mission Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo, almost on the site of the unfortunate colony established by La Salle on Garcitas Creek. A short pause, then we see missions and *visitas* making their ap-

pearance along the San Gabriel and San Sabá, the Rio Grande from Laredo to Reynosa, and from San Juan Bautista to El Paso, and finally on the lower Trinity. Everywhere the untiring brown-robed Franciscans are found seeking converts, leading the untutored children of the forest to civilization, striving patiently to overcome the inherent aversion of the natives to systematic effort, to sustained endeavor, to uniform application, to the acquisition of the habits and customs of civilized men. At the same time we find them taming their wild and cruel nature, restraining the savage passions that found expression in the refined cruelty practiced upon helpless captives, teaching love, forgiveness, and sacrifice by eloquent example.

How did the zealous missionaries attempt to convert and civilize the natives? By trying to reproduce within the mission the conditions of a self-governing, economically independent, self-supporting community, where the Indian could by degrees learn the fundamental teachings of Christianity and at the same time learn a new method or order of living compatible with the religious instruction he was receiving that would eventually enable him to take his place among civilized men. Remarkable, indeed, was the development of the Spanish mission system when viewed in this light. It was a transitory institution, a school of life where the savage was converted not merely into a Christian but into a useful member of society.

The conditions encountered along the frontiers of New Spain were different from those that prevailed in the central area of Mexico where a relatively numerous, sedentary, and semi-agricultural population was found. When the missionary moved from this area towards the less populated frontiers of the north, he came in contact with numerous nomadic tribes, whose cultural level was much more primitive than that of the sedentary nations of central and southern Mexico. In Texas not only were the various nations nomadic and dependent largely for their livelihood on fishing and the chase, but they were more warlike, more fierce, and in several instances, if not actually cannibalistic, at least observants of rituals difficult to distinguish from cannibalism. There is another factor that must be kept in mind in studying the work of the missionaries

in our State. From the dawn of recorded history the migration of native races was already in progress. The Jumanos, for example, were found in the Presidio area, but moving eastward steadily to Oklahoma, where they are found today. As time passes we find the migration accelerated by the distant but constantly increasing pressure of the advance of the European settler into the interior from the Atlantic coast and down the Mississippi from Canada, westward along the tributaries of the great waterway. New nations keep appearing over the horizon beyond the Spanish missions, each better armed and more skilled in the use of European weapons than the preceding one. In the eighteenth century the Apaches were forced to retreat far to the south and west before the resistless sweep of the Comanches, who in turn were being pressed by others.

The first problem of the pioneers of Christianity, the humble but zealous sons of Saint Francis in Texas was the congregation of the natives into communities where they could be instructed in spiritual and material things. Thus the chapel and the quarters of the missionaries became the nucleus or center around which a community was established. The natives, attracted by the material inducement of food, clothing, and protection against their natural enemies, which care assured in good weather and foul, in sickness or in health, built their rude huts near the chapel and the whole was soon fenced into a quadrangle. In fact, the Indian pueblo that was soon formed was a miniature walled village, whose fortification against attack was strengthened as the mission developed. From three to nine soldiers were ordinarily assigned to a mission for the protection of the *Padres* and the congregated natives against hostile tribes. The soldiers served also to cause the *Padres* to be respected and to help instruct the Indians of the mission in their various tasks or supervise them in the fields. Given the presence of hostile tribes that surrounded all the missions in Texas, these were generally founded within reasonable proximity to a presidio or fort which could render additional help or protection when necessary.

The mission was assigned adequate lands for the development of farms and grazing pastures for the raising of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats. The missionaries ordinarily supplied themselves

with the essential tools for farming and building. It was also customary to take a few mission Indians from an older institution, who had become familiar with mission life routine, to help in initiating the others. A miracle it was how with no other resources than their insignificant annual allowance of four hundred and fifty *pesos* a year, with no other labor than their own and that of the indolent and unwilling neophytes the missionaries succeeded in a short time in transforming the mission grounds into a garden spot where vegetables, fruit trees, and flowers grew; the fields into irrigated farms where the golden grain waved in the fall and the cotton whitened the fields like snow. The rudely built shelter where Mass was at first celebrated and the good *Padres* lived was soon replaced by a substantial church of stone and mortar, with graceful spires piercing the blue sky; the huts of the Indians became neat houses arranged in rows along streets; furniture made by the Indians, now skilled carpenters, filled every house; clothes made of cloth woven in their own looms and made by their own tailors covered their formerly naked bodies. A granary held the surplus stores that cooperative labor produced as a guarantee of plenty through the long winter months. No longer did the wretched Indians have to depend on bitter roots and repugnant worms and vermin to eke an uncertain livelihood during the winter.

But in addition to shelter, food, clothing, and moderate comforts, the mission Indians now had hospitals, where they were cared for when sick. Every mission in Texas had a hospital and a lay brother who looked after the sick, often an apothecary and dietitian after a fashion. The Indian had to learn, however, to appreciate these advantages. The poor *Padres* record how the natives refused to take chicken soup or lamb broth when sick, calling it dirty water. But it was the young mothers that almost exhausted the patience of the kindly missionary. They refused to be confined a week and to submit to a diet of corn mush. The young babies suffered the consequences of the mothers' contrariness.

Just as dawn tinged the horizon, the mellow bell rang out in pleasant chime each morning. All the Indians of the mission, who were not sick, answered the summons and congregated in the chapel for Mass. Two Indian *fiscales* checked the attendance. Absence

without a justifiable excuse merited a public reprimand for a first offence. But a repetition merited five lashes on the back, administered in public by one of the *fiscales* the afternoon of the offence. After Mass the neophytes gathered for a short instruction in front of the church, the missionary speaking from the front door. It will be observed that in most of the missions standing today there is a large open space facing the chapel. After the instruction the neophytes returned to their houses for breakfast and were assigned the tasks for the day, some going to the fields, others to the different shops, and still others to specially designated tasks. At the close of the day the angelus bell called them from the different tasks to prayer and a brief instruction. On feast days they sang the rosary, held processions, played musical instruments and danced, not native but European dances.

But the Indians in the missions were also taught practical self-government. They had their own governing officials to manage all the affairs of the mission. Each had a pueblo with a governor, *alcaldes* (justices), *regidores* (councilmen), an *alguazil* (sheriff), and one or two *fiscales*. The duties of the last named officers have been described in part in connection with attendance at church. Let Governor Barrios, who was not a particularly warm friend of the missionaries, describe the success attained in this unique social experiment. The kind treatment of the missionaries, he says,

> has so pleased the natives that the best proof of their contentment is that there have been no fugitives, and that there are no chains or stocks in their missions. The neophytes elect their own *cabildo* (city council), judges, and counselors, their captain, officers, governor, and public prosecutor. At night they have regular guards to make the rounds. They have their military and civil tribunals, who administer justice without bloodshed. The missionary in charge uses his influence to see that the guilty are punished and that all are drawn together by love.

Many were the trials and tribulations which the devoted missionaries experienced daily to attain the results briefly enumerated. The first and foremost obstacle was the language handicap. True, of course, the ideal was to teach the natives Spanish, but the missionary had to learn the language of the Indians in many instances. The problem becomes more complicated when it is kept

in mind that it was not one but numerous and various dialects that were spoken by the tribes of Texas. Father Espinosa says, "It is necessary to work with our fingers, writing, noting, and interpreting the signs that we cannot make out with words." It was torture to one's tongue, the good missionary assures us, and he was in position to know. There were missions where as many as six and seven dialects were spoken by the neophytes. Fray Bartolomé García at Mission San Juan Capistrano laboriously compiled a *Manual* for the administration of the Sacraments and the instruction of the natives in the most commonly used dialect, which published in Mexico in 1760, is the first text book printed for use in Texas.

Language difficulties, however, were not the only ones that faced the brave pioneers of the Church who attempted to civilize the natives. Accustomed to a roaming life, it was difficult for these wild men to adapt themselves to the confinement and the routine of mission life. Patience such as saints alone have was required to accustom the Indian to systematic labor. Firmness and gentleness in just the right amount were necessary. Personal example was the most powerful influence, and the missionary worked day after day in the fields, side by side with the half-hearted neophytes who did less than half as much as the exhausted *Padre*. Love for work developed slowly, yet the pioneers in sackcloth never wavered. Our western pioneer labored for himself and for his family, but the poor, devoted, zealous missionary worked not for himself but for the indolent, impudent, leering, or irritatingly indifferent Indian by his side, sustained in his fatigue by an unflinching faith that his example would win at last. The success of the missions bore out his faith.

That simple virtue, ability to control oneself by the exercise of judgment and restraint, which we take for granted, was extremely difficult to teach to the Indian. When he first came to the mission he was a child of nature, used to gorge himself when food was plentiful and to endure hunger and starvation when circumstances required it. Such an Indian began his training by being given rations daily. Those who had been longer in the mission were given rations twice a week, and those who had learned to administer

their own food supply were given provisions once a week. On such simple rules does civilization rest. Orderly habits were next on the program. To get up at regular hours, to eat at regular intervals, to labor steadily for periods that were gradually increased was the next lesson learned by the neophyte. To care for the tools used, to keep them in good condition, to put them away daily, this was another step. But slowly the native learned not through harshness, but through love, through infinite patience, through endless perseverance. And yet there were those who begrudged the missionaries their success and accused them of selfishness.

There was no means, nor was it the intention of the mission that there should be, to keep the Indians under its jurisdiction by force. The soldiers employed as mission guards were not for the purpose of compelling the neophytes to remain in the mission. They were to protect the missionaries against violence and the Indians against attack. It is not strange then that periodically mission Indians should run away. It was not the result of maltreatment. It was the natural impulse which every one of us feels even today to get away for a spell from the deadening routine of everyday life. When spring came and when in the fall the first tang of winter filled the air, a restless wave swept over the neophytes. Their nostrils dialated and they felt the urge of their roaming nature surge through their supple bodies. First one and then another silently stole away in the evening twilight, tingling with a new sense of freedom. The *Padres* went on about their routine with a prayer on their lips and hope in their hearts. As soon as their multiple duties permitted, one of the *Padres* would set out, accompanied by a soldier or two for protection, or by some of the older mission Indians. Across plains, over hills, and into unexplored forests he would go in quest of the runaways. When found they generally seemed glad to see the missionary and they returned to the mission of their own free will.

But in spite of hardships, suffering, lack of cooperation, and the constant depredations of hostile tribes, the missions founded by the devoted Franciscans had reached a surprising stage of progress within thirty years after their permanent establishment. Striking indeed is their condition by 1745. Two thousand two hundred

and eighty-two Indians had been baptized and Christianized in San Antonio by the four missions of the College of Querétaro alone. Of these one thousand three hundred and forty-nine had received the last Sacraments and had been given Christian burial. Living in these four missions there were eight hundred and eighty-five Indians of whom seven hundred and forty-four were baptized Christians, meaning they had been duly instructed in the Christian faith, and one hundred and forty-one who were being instructed preparatory to the administration of baptism. The significance of these figures becomes greater when the difficulties and incredible obstacles, which the missionaries had to overcome during this period, are considered.

On the temporal side we find among the four missions of the College of Querétaro in San Antonio, for example, a total of more than five thousand head of cattle, more than two thousand sheep, almost as many goats, and about two hundred and fifty horses. In the farms the Indians raised annually over eight thousand bushels of corn, three hundred and forty bushels of beans, more than two thousand pounds of cotton, besides numerous pumpkins, melons, watermelons, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, vegetables, fruits, and peaches that weighed almost a pound a piece. To cultivate the farms and carry on their multiple tasks, the four missions had a total of eighty-six yokes of oxen, eighty-five hoes, thirty-six carts, fifty-six adzes, one hundred twenty-two axes, twenty-three plows, thirty-six handbars, and all the tools for carpentry, blacksmithing, stone masonry, and bricklaying, besides the looms. At La Bahia, present Goliad, progress had been made also, and the herds of Mission Espíritu Santo numbered over five thousand head, which by 1780 had increased in spite of constant thefts and depredations by hostile marauders, to over eighteen thousand. Truly has it been said that in the Spanish regime "the most conspicuous work of the period was that done by the missionaries."

Failure seemed only to increase the determination of the tireless missionaries, hardships inspired them to greater exertions, treachery such as that of the perfidious Apaches at San Sabá only inflamed their zeal. Thus we find the destruction of the San Xavier missions did not lead to the abandonment of central Texas but

resulted in the founding of San Sabá; the martyrdom of Fray Giraldo de Terreros and Fray Santiesteban shortly afterwards was the occasion of the establishment of two new missions on the upper Nueces. To the end of the mission era, to the close of the Spanish period, these devoted apostles of Christianity and civilization worked and labored unceasingly, planting deep in the fertile soil of Texas the roots from which a new era was to sprout, our modern age.

We can do no better than to paraphrase that eloquent tribute which the great historian, John Fiske, paid to the memorable figure of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, so aptly called the Apostle of the Indies. He is symbolic of the spirit that moved and animated his worthy successors, the brown-robed Franciscans, those pioneers in sackcloth who worked long and lovingly among the thousands of natives in Texas and were the first to cause the wilderness to blossom and yield the fruits of civilization.

"In contemplating such lives, all words of eulogy seem weak and frivolous," declared John Fiske. "The Historian can only bow in reverent awe before such figures. When now and then in the course of centuries God's providence brings such lives into this world, their memory must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions. For the thought, the words, the deeds of such men, there is no death. The sphere of their influence goes on widening forever. They bud, they blossom, they bear fruit from age to age."

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

MISCELLANY

A Proposed Reorganization of History Teaching in the Catholic Universities and Colleges of the United States *

In a recent issue of one of our papers, a writer in the daily column asked:

> Why do writers and speakers in Education
> Use so much sesquipedalian tergiversation
> Their professional standings seem to vary
> In direct proportion to vocabulary.[1]

Since I have no professional standing to maintain—or lose, I am going to introduce a rather lowbrow but practical discussion into this otherwise highbrow and intellectual convention of scholars. Nor do I intend to follow the precept which I once heard enunciated by an educational expert: "Why bother about knowledge; almost any ideas will do. The essential object in education is to stir one's emotion, to lubricate one's enthusiasm."[2] I fear that neither my subject nor my disposition lends itself to bubbling emotions nor scintillating enthusiasms.

Your program committee suggested first, the subject, "The Teaching of History in Our Catholic Universities and Colleges." But in order to make a valid statement of the facts regarding the present teaching situation, a survey would have necessitated the use of that instrument of torture devised by modern statisticians, the *questionnaire*. I was unwilling to be the executioner. Moreover, my impression is that we are all sufficiently aware of the situation as it exists. The question is what are we going to do about it.

A consideration of *The Reorganization of History Teaching in the Catholic Universities and Colleges of the United States* proved a formidable project. We finally decided to draw up a survey of the entire field; to discuss today such segments as seemed most in need of investigation and to assign others to a future time and place. Fortunately, mine is merely the task to present the discussion. I am in no way responsible for the answer to the questions which I ask, nor for the solutions of the problems which I propose.

* Paper read at a Luncheon Conference during the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Chicago, December 28, 1938.

[1] *Chicago Tribune*, December 14, 1938.

[2] C. F. Wishart, President of Wooster College. Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Association of American Colleges.

In a group like this, it would be impertinent to point out the importance of history as an academic discipline. At least three volumes of the *Report of the Commission on Social Studies*, which we shall describe later, has considered this aspect of the matter. However, I do wish to call attention to the strategic position which our teaching subject occupies today. Two years ago in this city I heard President Conant of Harvard University make this statement: "A knowledge of history is, perhaps, the one common denominator in the liberal arts program which will be developed in this country during the next fifty years."[3] In amplifying this dictum he emphasized the need of presenting to the non-scientist and to the non-technologist the knowledge which is accumulating in the fields of technology and science. He felt that the trained student of history is the only one prepared to make this synthesis satisfactorily.

History is asked to play not only the part of adjustment agent but it is likewise expected to furnish the broad perspective necessary for an understanding of contemporary living. This has been the keynote of many of Professor Judd's addresses for the last decade.

But if there is any one function which certain groups in the academic world are insisting must be taken over by the teachers of history, it is education for democratic living. This immediately raises the difficulty of *definition*. The present year-book of the *National Council for the Social Studies* has devoted the first section to education for democratic living, adding the sub-legend, "A statement of the philosophy underlying the study of the community." The definition of democracy, which, here borrowed from the *Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of the Progressive Education Association, 1938*, is as follows:

> Both as a method of government and as a way of life, democracy contains at least three basic elements: (1) a respect for the individual; (2) a willingness to share common interests and concerns; and, (3) a belief that intelligence should be extended to all areas of life.[4]

These are elements, it is true, but are they *basic?*

This definition has little in common with the Catholic concept of democracy as recently interpreted by Monsignor Corrigan. In October at the Carroll Forum at the Palmer House, the Rector of the Catholic University imparted to us the desire of the Holy See that Catholic youth understand the meaning of democracy as the Catholic Church understands it. Nor can we be too leisurely in taking the step for others, who know not whereof they speak, will explain our position for us.

[3] J. B. Conant, "The American College," *Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges*, XXIII (March, 1937), 43.

[4] James Quillen, "Education for Democratic Living," *National Council for the Social Studies*, Ninth Yearbook (1938), 3.

While Monsignor Corrigan was yet addressing Catholic audiences in different parts of the country, the November quarterly number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* appeared. In it John M. Mecklin attempts to expound the views of the Catholic Church on democracy in at least one of its phases.

> The Catholic Church has little sympathy with the democratic idea of free speech. This will be obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to read what is perhaps the most authoritative pronouncement of the Catholic Church upon freedom of speech, namely, the *Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII*, June 20, 1888. The position here taken is the familiar one, as old as Augustine, to which Aquinas gave the final touches.[5]

After quoting at some length from the *Encyclical*, he interprets what he read as follows:

> If we ask what are "lying opinions" that work the "ruin of the State," the reply is, those that are contrary to the "authority of God." If we ask what is the "authority of God," the reply is necessarily that it is what the Catholic church says is the "authority of God." The cultural historian, however, has shown us that the great *Summa* of Aquinas whence these ideas are drawn was really only the rationalization of the medieval theocratic synthesis that grew up partly spontaneously and unplanned and partly through the conscious efforts of popes such as Gregory the Great and Innocent III, much as Calvin's *Institutes* was merely the rational justification of the "Holy Community" Calvin sought to create at Geneva.[6]

And so whether we are loath or willing to accept education for democratic living as a function of our history program it behooves us to keep alert to the influences which would force us to it.

Any consideration of the reorganization of our teaching field would, I am sure you will agree, include an investigation of the following: the curriculum, the subject matter of the courses which comprise that curriculum, instructional procedure, the instructor and his preparation, together with the responsibility of the university in which he is trained and the college in which he teaches. These are but the blocks in our educational building and these blocks must rest upon an impregnable foundation. It is imperative that, first of all, we enunciate clearly, definitely, and specifically, what are the objectives which determine these phases. The first chapter in our catechism has taught us the importance of recognizing and stating the end of man, yet we wait for outside agencies to insist that

[5] John M. Mecklin, "Freedom of Speech for Clergymen," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CC (November, 1938), 170.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171.

we recognize and state our objectives if we are to educate successfully, and that these objectives be based on *ultimate values*.

Last summer at a meeting of the Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions, held at the University of Chicago, I heard Professor Harry Gideonse state this in no ambiguous terms:

> The reason for our studied avoidance of "ends" is historically obvious. With the emergence of secular education, "values" were jealously preserved as the prerogatives of the church, the family, and other intermediate social groups. Historically, secular education could not have touched this side of education even if it had desired to do so. And—for a variety of reasons—it did not desire to do so. It made a virtue of "objectivity" —meaning detachment from value judgments. It built up a professional taboo against consideration of values even if it is, of course, sheer objectivity to observe that all learning and all activities derive their meaning from human values.[7]

And he ended his exhortation with these significant words, "If we in the schools do not live up to our other-than-intellectual responsibility, if we do not reach into moral and emotional fields, in a manner that is justifiable from the standpoint of the value of a free society, *someone else will*."[8]

Of course we recognize that Professor Gideonse is here challenging President Hutchins' position as to what is the function of a college. But our ability to prophesy does not enable us to foretell whether the Gideonse's school of thought or the Hutchins' school of thought is going to win out eventually. So I arrive at the first question, "Are we waiting for some other agency to state the ultimate values upon which we base our teaching objectives in history?" I make Professor Gideonse's words my own, "*if we do not, someone else will*."[9]

Upon two occasions in my experience with the American Catholic Historical Association attempts, have been made to answer the question, "Is there a Catholic philosophy of history?" The annual meeting held in Pittsburgh, in 1933, devoted all of its sessions to a consideration of the subject. These collected papers have since been published under the title, *The Catholic Philosophy of History*. But as far as I know not any one of them has since been utilized as a basis for determining the objectives for a history curriculum. It was not until last year at the meeting in Philadelphia that the question was again brought up. Professor Louis Mercier of Harvard University opened his discussion with a reference to the papers read at the Pittsburgh meetings. May I recall in part his thesis? He said:

[7] Harry D. Gideonse, "Quality of Teaching or Content of Education," *The Preparation and In-Service Training of College Teachers*, X (1938), 66.

[8] *Op. cit.*, 75.

[9] *Ibid.*

> The question was bravely raised two years ago before this Association whether the Catholic historian was not called on to view all history in the light of divine love and of divine Providence as the expression of that love. And we were asked: "Since all history reveals God, unless we write history and teach history as a kind of contemplation, are we Catholics, are we even historians?
>
> This challenge is a most important one and we must face it when we raise the question of the perspective of history.[10]

His suggestion followed:

> May I venture to propose for your consideration that there cannot be and should not be Catholic history in the sense of research in, or teaching of history, as such, in terms of supernatural theology; in short, that history, as such, is a rational discipline? [11]
>
> What then becomes of history? Is it not clear that it should remain, like philosophy a rational discipline, since its limits like those of philosophy must be those of our limited natural powers of discovering objective truth? [12]
>
> The primary task of the historian is to ascertain facts. . . . The objective ascertaining of the facts, however, is only the first task of the historian. The day must come when we must interpret them, when we must plot the curve of their significance. According to what principle shall we plot them? . . . Where shall we find a haven above the flux of events from which to establish their perspective? [13]
>
> Today, may we not tell American non-Catholic historians that, unless they too let the facts speak for themselves, and recognize that Christianity, corroborating dualistic humanism, is at the heart of the growth of human freedom, they can only distort the perspective of social and political history, and leave their blinded students at the mercy of monistic propaganda? [14]

Am I unduly alarmed in thinking that I see a danger in our own writers and teachers being led astray by false prophets. After reading George S. Counts, "Philosophy and Program," *The Social Foundation of Education,* I find in this month's issue of an educational periodical one of our own declaring that, "It is fully conceded today that we are living in an age that defines education in terms of social efficiency. A socialized age necessarily demands a socialized education. In a democracy the primary object of education is to train for effective citizenship." [15] Perhaps I am reason-

[10] Louis J. A. Mercier, "Current Crises and the Perspective of History," *The Catholic Historical Review,* XXIV (1938), 257.

[11] *Passim.*

[12] *Passim.*

[13] *Passim.*

[14] *Passim.*

[15] *Social Studies,* XXIV (Dec. 1938).

ing *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. But there is so much loose talking and writing about the demands of our socialized age that I see a danger. A scholarly publication prints an article in which we are assured that, "It is imperative, therefore, for the clergy in these days of monopoly capitalism to find a common ground closer to the secularized social conscience," and that their theology now has quite "as much in common with Marx and Rousseau as with Jesus."[16] But while we have been phlegmatic in laying down our objectives others have been less dilatory.

The first meeting of the American Historical Association which I attended was held in Washington, December 1928. It was at this meeting that the Council appointed the Commission which was, during the following years, to produce the *Report on the Social Studies*. This report as you no doubt know has since appeared in sixteen volumes, and touches on every phase of the subject. It begins with a *Charter for the Social Sciences* by Charles A. Beard and ends with the *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission*. The appearance of the last named volume in 1934 was the signal for violent controversy which broke out in professional literature and in current conventions. In the six months which followed the publication of the *Report* I was present at no less than six meetings including conventions, luncheons, and panel forums in which these recommendations and conclusions were debated with more or less acerbity. But during that period I heard no Catholic voice lifted in praise or blame. I will make one exception, a young professor from Marquette University acquitted himself admirably in a panel discussion in Milwaukee where George S. Counts of Columbia was the guest of honor. And yet there is much in those volumes which would challenge the Catholic philosopher, historian, and educator.

Some one might ask whether I am not emphasizing a study intended for a discussion of problems on the secondary level of instruction. Does it concern the University or the College? My answer is threefold: (1) Men reputable in the field of history collaborated with the leaders in the field of education to produce this report. Such names as the following speak for themselves: Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota; Carleton J. H. Hayes of Columbia, Avery Craven of Chicago, Henry Johnson of Columbia; A. C. Krey of Minnesota; (2) the Catholic Universities train the superintendents, supervisors, and committee members who formulate the curricula in our diocesan systems: they guide the authors who write the texts; the colleges prepare the instructors who follow the curricula and teach from the texts; (3) the present tendency to level the barriers between the secondary schools and the colleges renders it important that the higher institutions understand the problems of the lower.

[16] John M. Mecklin, "Freedom of Speech for Clergymen," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CC (November, 1938), 178-179.

If I hesitate to raise the issue of organization into departments versus organization into broader divisions let me not be accused of undue timidity. Braver souls than I have approached the subject warily. *The American Historical Association Report* says:

> The Commission, refusing to take sides in this struggle of vested interests in higher education, proposes: (a) a vigorous searching of hearts by specialists in subject matter and in methodology; (b) a reunion in both instances of speciality with the living tree of knowledge and thought; and (c) a revaluation of subject matter and methodology with reference to social purpose rather than in terms of abstract logic and schemes of organization.
>
> In practical outcome, this will mean: (a) a drastic reduction in the number of highly specialized courses in history, politics, economics, and sociology, offered to teachers in colleges and universities; (b) the establishment of general and balanced courses in these subjects for teachers; (c) the organization of seminars in which teachers may receive rigorous training in those methods of research, bibliographical operations, analysis, verification, synthesis, and criticism indispensable to the advancement of learning and effective instruction.[17]

You are all familiar with the *mot* which is current in academic circles. We are becoming either "scholars knowing more and more about less and less or dilettantes knowing less and less about more and more."

Of all the subjects in the educational field, history and the other social sciences have suffered most through the attempt of educational areas and pressure groups to exert undue control over the curriculum. In the November *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Edward A. Shils has written an article captioned "Limitation on the Freedom of Research and Teaching in the Social Sciences." Aside from the pressure groups more reputable organizations have from the end of the last century tried their hand at program making for the history teacher. It is surprising how many and how varied the associations whose members have interested themselves in what shall be taught in history courses. The National Educational Association sponsored committees in 1893, 1895, 1897, and 1916; the American Political Science Association had its committees in 1908 and 1916. Such diverse organizations as the following have contributed their efforts to the cause: The National Society for the Study of Education, Association of Collegiate Schools of Business, American Bar Association, National Security League, American Sociological Society, Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum of the Progessive Education Association, 1938.

For many years back I have felt that it would make an interesting and instructive study to explore the philosophy underlying each history

[17] Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, *Conclusions and Recommendations* (Chicago, 1934), 110-111.

curriculum. Unfortunately our curricula too often follow the prevailing fashions of thought. For once I am in agreement with Professor Counts when he says: "educational philosophy and programs are but aspects or expressions of comprehensive social philosophies and programs." If I am not mistaken I can glimpse behind each program mapped out by committees of the American Historical Association the current social philosophy. The Committee of Seven in 1898 laid down as its first value of history as a school subject the following: "In leading pupils to see the steps in the development of human race and to gain some perception of his own and his country's place in this development history has no equal among the subjects studied."[18]

This emphasis on development is a logical outcome of the universal evolution theory which Herbert Spencer and his school were making the fetish of the epoch. The historian, John Fiske, whose influence on American history was by no means negligible was an ardent follower of Darwin and Spencer. Fiske distinctly emphasized the psychical forces in evolution and the part which they play in making purposeful and in organizing groups on social principles. "Humanity," he says, "is not a mere incident in evolution. It is the supreme factor. The main purpose of man is not the perpetuation of his species but the development of more social purposes."[19]

The same evolutionary influence was apparent in the programs drawn up for the elementary schools about the same period. The influence of Herbart but still more of Ziller is manifest in the culture epoch theory which determined many history programs. In accordance with this theory, teaching materials for young children should be drawn from the childhood of the race, materials for the adolescent should be taken from the boyhood of the race, and so on to manhood when the culture of the present time presents the peak of civilization. The Committee of Five of the American Historical Association was called at the instigation of the headmasters of some secondary schools of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. This report provided for the elimination of medieval history as a separate course. From that time there was continual agitation to secure greater emphasis on the modern period. Based on an individualistic philosophy of laissez-faire, history now made adjustments to present horizons thus becoming provincial and ephemeral.

The members of the present commission have phrased the educational philosophy which underlies the present curriculum making in no uncertain terms. They say:

> Educators stand today between two great philosophies of social economy; the one representing the immediate past and fading out in actuality, an

[18] *Report of the Committee of Seven.*

[19] John Fiske, *Cosmic Philosophy.*

> individualism in economic theory which has become hostile in practise to the development of individuality for great masses of the people and threatens the survival of American society; the other representing and anticipating the future on the basis of actual trends—the future already coming into reality, a *collectivism* which may permit the widest development of personality or lead to a bureaucratic tyranny destructive of ideals of popular democracy and cultural freedom.[20]

When we are satisfied that we have grasped the ultimate values; when we have stated our philosophy, defined our objectives and organized our curricula, where shall we look for our instructional materials and where shall we find the syllabi, texts, and collateral collections variable enough to meet our local needs? May I offer you a few exhibits to illustrate the crying need of such material? I shall begin on the lowest level and work up.

Exhibit A. Last month an enterprising Chicago publisher offered at a very attractive price and in very attractive garb a set of ten books for young readers of history. I was asked to review them. They tell the story of Man's world before his coming in to it and his history after his arrival. Each book is authenticated by a well known authority. To quote from one "This simple and entertaining book gives a fine picture of the beginning of life on our earth. It is scientifically accurate."[21] I have not read every word in every volume but not one book which I have read mentions once the name of God. Creation and creatures are there but the Creator who brought them into being plays no part. Shall I recommend them for Catholic libraries?

Exhibit B. A charming little book which I find on many library shelves in Catholic schools has this incident for its climax:

> And this messenger told the King that while there the Abbot, in speaking to him of Brother Stephen's work, had said that the latter really wished to leave the brotherhood and go into the world to paint; and that, though he had refused his request to be freed from his vows, yet the monk had worked so faithfully at King Louis's book that he thought he had *earned* his freedom, and that perhaps he, the Abbot, had done wrong in forcing him to stay at the Abbey, if he wished to study his art elsewhere.[22]

In other words the reward of work well done is his *exeat* from the monastery and his vows.

Exhibit C. A well known professor of history who died within the last few years wrote a series of historical fiction for collateral reading. They

[20] Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, *Conclusions and Recommendations* (Chicago, 1934), 36-37.

[21] Adolf Carl Noe.

[22] Evaleen Stein, *Gabriel and The Hour Book* (Boston, 1906), 164-165.

are widely used in Medieval History. Whenever I protest their presence on the shelves of Catholic libraries I am assured that they are on all the reading lists and recommended by the American Library Association. In addition a list compiled by a Catholic organization was produced to reassure me. I shall give one brief illustration out of many which I might have chosen. The plot of the story is laid around the marriage of Saint Louis of France and Margaret of Provence. The Queen Mother, Blanche of Castile is represented as saying to the Bishop who performed the ceremony:

> You must do as I know well is often done in like cases: you must mutter the marriage ceremony in a low voice, saying some of it beneath your breath; and what you thus say you must pervert, so that you can, if needful, declare upon your oath, "I did not join Louis of France and Margaret of Provence in lawful wedlock.[23]

And the Bishop obligingly assents. To quote his words: "Then when I came to the solemn words, '*Ego jungo vos*'," I said, "*Ego non jungo vos.*"[24] So as to be certain that there is no misunderstanding on the part of the reader the author adds this corroborating annotation:

> The flaw in the wedding service of Louis and Margaret, herein described, is simply an illustration of what was too often deliberately practised in the Middle Ages, to leave a loophole for an annulment of a marriage when by church law no regular divorce was admissible.[25]

He seems to have specialized in research on the popular veneration of relics. He is intrigued with the adoration paid to the feather dropped from Gabriel's wing when he visited the Virgin. This appears in more than one of his books. I am not here commenting on the scholarship of the writer in question; nor am I rebuking the Catholic instructors who are using the material. The blame, if any blame there be, can be laid at our door; we are not producing anything which they can use in place of these questionable materials.

The Department of History of the Catholic University of America has prepared a reading list for its students concentrating in the field of history in preparation for their comprehensive examination. One of the books recommended is Harry Elmer Barnes' *The New History and the Social Studies*. The masculine clientele of the men's universities may be made of sterner stuff than the inmates of the women's colleges, but I keep *The New History and the Social Studies* in a locked case in my office with the other forbidden books. Re-read Chapter IX, *Ethics and History—A Genetic View of the Theory of Conduct*.

[23] W. S. Davis, *The White Queen* (London, 1931), 192-193.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*, 360.

Master's theses and doctoral dissertations win for their creators each year the much coveted higher degrees. Then they are consigned to the dusty limbo of the library stacks and who benefit from them? But not only are we lacking when it comes to active production. We are equally inert in pointing out inaccuracies not to say actual misrepresentations. In the 1938 yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies there is a fascinating article called "The World at Home, exploring the community's relations with other times and other countries." It is written by a prominent historian—one whose name figures on the program at this convention. He is describing the churches of the Community:

> The other was a little adobe church which served a Mexican community on the edge of town. Much of the architecture was obviously of American Indian origin, with additional features supplied by the early Spanish Franciscans who first introduced Christianity into Mexico. The ritual and theology were Roman Catholic derived through Spain from ancient Rome. The other, larger churches for the most part bore clear evidence of their origin commemorating, by their presence, John Wesley of England, Knox of Scotland, Calvin of France, and Switzerland, Luther of Germany, St. Thomas of Italy, St. Peter of ancient Palestine, as well as the founder of the Christian religion. The ritual, hymns, theology, and ethical codes of them all were, in general, similar, although they varied on particular points of difference.
>
> The substantial nucleus of both theology and ethics could easily be traced back through the medieval Roman church to the ancient Hebrews, and, if Breasted in his *Dawn of Conscience* is to be believed, even farther back, to the ancient Egyptians.[26]

This author has written books in the medieval field and might be expected to know something of the historical beginning of the Christian Church. One puzzles over the church which owes its origin to St. Thomas as distinct from that owing its origin to St. Peter. Perhaps it is only ambiguous word arrangement. Even Zeus nodded, though I suspect that Hebe or Ganymede or some of the other celestial pages prodded him awake. But we hesitate to disturb the slumbers of the Olympians: we too dream on.

SISTER MARY CELESTE LEGER

[26] A. C. Krey, "The World At Home," *National Council for the Social Studies*, 1938, 176.

BOOK REVIEWS

Tradition and Progress. By Ross HOFFMAN. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. xvii, 165. $2.00.)

Most thinkers will agree with Professor Ross Hoffman that the problem of this generation is to combine far-reaching measures of reconstruction with the best values of private initiative, authority and order. There are few to mourn the passing of the liberal state. How tawdry today appears the *laissez faire* doctrine that man is answerable only to himself: that his desire is sovereign and it rather than the laws of God and nature determines the difference between right and wrong! On the other hand, it is well to recognize that the Marxist revolutionary will is also an absolute. A 'social earthquake' may destroy capitalism for a brief, dramatic period and then pave the way for the ultra-capitalism of the Soviet Union. The author of this volume endeavours to chart a safe passage between the Scylla of rugged individualism and the Charybdis of state materialism.

The crisis of which Professor Hoffman speaks is genuine. A battle for power between forces of the right and left has been engaged. It is a struggle daily growing in intensity, in extent. There is "a real danger that we who are Catholics may let that struggle go by default." Rightly fearful of political labels, we are inclined to remain mere spectators of the duel between Marxism and Brown Bolshevism. A predominantly passive role may spell suffering both for society as well as for ourselves. Why? Because in this "pause between crisis and catastrophe" the whole "Christian and humanist concept of man's nature and freedom are at stake, and the issue will determine whether the future is to hold for us, as Catholics, citizenship in a political order respecting spiritual liberty or descent anew to the catacombs."

Professor Hoffman emphasizes a point that is often overlooked or even distorted in Catholic colleges and universities. He does not view Christians exclusively "as members of the Church but as citizens in the political community, having therein, along with their good fellow citizens, a vital concern for a just and rational arrangement of temporal affairs." Possessed of "an ancient treasury of experience and tradition," we have a duty to bring it forth; "not of course as peculiarly Catholic wisdom, since it is not really that at all but only the traditional reason and sanity of our civilization; to which we of the visible Church enjoy special access only because we have kept within that conserver of all good things." On this basis, we may hope to secure the cooperation of all those who believe

in God, or for that matter, of all those who accept the bill of rights. When we urge labor legislation or economy, or neutrality, we may propose our specific program as an office of good citizenship, not necessarily as the obligation or prerogative of Catholics who happen to be Americans.

It is a mistake, therefore, to abandon the political field to the enemy. It is time for Catholics to resume research and writing in the realm of political science. That, obviously, is one of the objectives of the cardinals, archbishops and bishops of the American Hierarchy in their insistence on the need of "God in government." Those students who follow the courses in democracy at the Catholic University of America will escape the author's mordant criticism as "aliens in the political order, a kind of strange sect living on in the midst of a new world political religion. . . ." Those enjoying the benefits of the new dispensation will undoubtedly have opportunities to study the application of William Graham Sumner's homely advice: "If you live in a community run by a committee, BE ON THE COMMITTEE."

The suggestion advanced by the author does not call either for 'political parsons' or a Catholic political party. Both would be anomalous, foreign, perilous. What is required is a Catholic intellectual élite in the domain of political science comparable to "the splendid Catholic intellectual apostolate to the bewildered western world. . . ." The need is particularly acute in America, using that term in its correct nomenclature as embracing North, Central and South America.

Ross Hoffman's chapter on "THE CATHOLIC MIND AND MODERN POLITICS" will, it may be hoped, furnish a gaudy sunset glow over the political graves of the corrupt purveyors of petty favors who have been tried, convicted and condemned, not only legally but before the bar of public opinion. Is it revealing a secret to state that the majority of these glorified ward-heelers lived many years in the aura of sanctity created by pious cant about their "good home life," "attendance at Mass on Sunday," "generosity to friends," and "annual Christmas dinners." In short, these individuals, who usually had the staunch support of priests in every parish and precinct, lived up to Simon Cameron's definition of a man in public life: "A good politician, Sir, is one who, when he's bought, STAYS bought." Exploitation of ecclesiastical connection is not Professor Hoffman's notion of Christian statecraft. The Catholic contribution to politics in recent years has been meagre, not for want of ideas, but for want of men.

It is this reviewer's conviction that *Tradition and Progress,* stimulating and profound as it undoubtedly is, would have benefited by a stubborn emphasis upon unity, coherence and emphasis. It is a collection of essays, rather than a single, penetrating analysis. Who will essay a volume on "Catholic Statesmen?"

JOSEPH F. THORNING

Mt. St. Mary's College

A Popular History of the Church. By Rev. Philip Hughes. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1939. Pp. xi, 278. 7s/6d.)

In his brief history of the Church Father Hughes has set himself a rather difficult task: to write history, not a panegyric; to describe the Church's struggle to retain "what has been handed down" in doctrine and develop this doctrine according to the needs of the faithful without succumbing to the fluctuations of error; to delineate the arduous process of forming a new civilization on the ruins of an old, without ultimately becoming wholly identified with or limited to the civilization it created; to picture the ever-recurring struggle with the civil power, without hiding the human blunders and weaknesses in administration of the Church.

On the whole, Father Hughes has succeeded very well, and this in ten brief chapters. The defect which so often mars the value of brief "histories"—yielding to the temptation to play apologist—is notably absent from the present work. He has described the Church in its human aspects, in its physical and political setting, without obscuring its supernatural character.

Perhaps the greatest merit of the book is the description of the three principal phases of the Church's struggle against caesaro-papism. The emperors' official tolerance and personal favors to the Church after the long series of persecutions under the empire were but a breathing spell in which the Church had time to organize herself in worship, doctrine and administration. Then the inevitable attempts of caesar to use the Church to carry out his own purposes brought on a type of persecution more insidious because it appeared in the guise of favoritism, dividing the hierarchy itself in questions of policy, and ultimately separating most of the East from the center of Christendom.

In freeing herself from the domination of one caesar, the Church created another. Receiving from him a legacy of temporal sovereignty, she also received a legacy of confusion between temporal and spiritual authority which was to bring the Church in two periods to its low ebb of spiritual influence. The human difficulties of these periods, the alliance of the opponents of reform with the civil power, or the identity of the spiritual and temporal power in prince-bishops, are described in sufficient perspective for the intelligent Catholic layman to see wherein lay the real sources of evils in this complicated mosaic of medieval and renaissance Catholicism.

The sources of future ills, too, are pointed out. Seeds of good and of ill in the lives and teaching of good men and bad are noted, and described in their growth. The struggle for doctrinal purity and independence from the withering influence of the laicized state in the modern period, with the Church all the while carrying out her mission to preach the gospel to every creature, completes the story Father Hughes set out to describe. He has written history, not a panegyric.

The effort to include so much has not been without harm to the work. The style, particularly in the first two chapters, is very choppy because the author has cluttered his sentences with so many modifying clauses. This makes portions of the book rather slow reading, and will not add to its popularity. The first chapter, too, "Primitive Catholicism," introduces us immediately into the doctrinal controversies raised by the gnostics, instead of describing first that marvelous achievement of spreading the gospel and organizing the religious life of a people. The author's complaint about lack of documents for this period does small homage to the tremendous work his fellow historians have done in the intensive study of primitive Catholicism. Considering the difficulties of the task he set himself, however, Father Hughes has produced a good, though not a brilliant work.

CHARLES E. SCHRADER

University of Detroit

God in History. By OTTO PIPER. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xxi, 189. $2.00.)

This book is a specimen of the literature in which one may learn how the Protestant mind, although in allegiance to revelation and all fundamental elements of Christian faith, yet gives denial to Newman's famous dictum that to know history is to cease to be Protestant. The modern Catholic who has contemplated the nature of the historical process, the life of the Church within it, and all the manifold fruits of the faith in the growth of nations and cultures, finds it hard to understand how this denial can be made. But here we see it, and are even reminded that until recent times Protestant thought surpassed Catholic in measure of historical quality. Nineteenth-century Protestantism responded more actively than Catholicism to the increase of historical consciousness, and showed a distinct tendency to subordinate theology to history and to transform Christianity into a philosophy of history. This was particularly true of the *Heilsgeschichte* school that flourished in south Germany, and from this school Dr. Piper has drawn his main ideas.

With much that he writes no Catholic will disagree, for he presents a thoroughly Christian philosophy of history: a restatement of the vision that originated in Judaism, was developed by St. Augustine, and must ever be, in its main outlines, the Christian interpretation of the past, Dr. Piper sees clearly the unique historical character of our religion and the uniqueness of Christendom in its development to full growth of the idea of universal history. He recognizes that without the Incarnation and Redemption history makes no sense; he shows how Our Lord came in the fullness of time, how He transformed and made new the world. The centrality of Christ in world history is affirmed, and the illumination which He has

given for understanding the historical process: "His life, which is both the complete self-disclosure of God's purposes for mankind, and an historical event as well, enables us to know the forces which are at work in history, the reason why its nature is what it is, and the goal towards which it moves." Then an excellent brief survey is given of the growth of the Mystical Body of Christ, of the immense creative activity of the Church, the fruits of its faith and works, its restoration and expansion of civilized culture, its formation of the western world and endowment of that world with its matchless spiritual capacities. "Western civilization", says Dr. Piper, "is based on the indefatigable activity of the church. The very fact that there is such a thing as a common western civilization, notwithstanding the peculiar national cultures of the European peoples, bears witness to the unifying work that the Gospel message, the organization of the universal church of the middle ages and its use of the Latin language, have brought about. . . . In our days people try to treat Christianity as an incidental ingredient in western civilization which they think they can easily dispense with. But men cannot eliminate what is organically united with this civilization without destroying the whole."

All this is good and unexceptionable. Dr. Piper shows evident touches of influence from Mr. Christopher Dawson, and there are here numerous passages on the Church as the Body of Christ that any thoughtful Catholic might have written. But when Dr. Piper comes to defining the specific existence of this body, the thing crumbles at his touch, losing all visibility and concrete historical reality. It evaporates into an ideology, and although it is defined as Christ at work through time, acting upon souls, illuminating and endowing them with grace, yet is it conceived as a kind of Christianized manifestation of the Hegelian idea. Necessarily the result of this false conception of the Church is the falsification of history. So that although Dr. Piper manifestly deplores all the worst consequences of the Protestant revolution, his philosophy of history permits him to indulge his Protestant instinct to justify that revolution; which leads him into such transparent absurdities as describing post-Trent Catholicism (which he views as an authentic manifestation of Our Lord) as "almost a new religion", and declaring that the Protestant Reform restored the unity of our civilization. It seems incredible, but here are his words: "At the moment when the Occident seemed to be disintegrating completely and irreparably, the Reformers stepped into the breach and restored its unity. . . . In the fifteenth century the Roman Church not only was no longer capable of repressing the growing nationalism, but was also deeply involved, itself, in the rivalries of national groups. . . . The Reformers were not able to overcome this new tendency entirely, yet they kept it within certain limits and thus prevented it from splitting up the Occident into an infinite number of conflicting groups." This is an interpretation of the Protestant revolution which, it is safe to say, has not been made by many previous

thinkers. But such absurdities are inescapable by the Protestant who sets out to show Christianity as a historical phenomenon.

Dr. Piper's book, it may be said in conclusion, provokes the reflection that there is considerable danger in treating Christianity as the philosophy of history. These are not identical. The faith illuminates but it is not the philosophy or *rationale* of history; for this has been revealed to no one. Confusion of these things usually led to conceptions of history in which the role of man, his freedom and responsibility, vanish, and all historical development appears as but the work of one divine will. This is heresy.

Ross Hoffman

Fordham University

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Volume III. *The Mission Era, 1731-1761.* By Carlos E. Castañeda, Ph.D. (Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones. 1938. Pp. 474. $8.95.)

This is the third volume in a projected set of seven on the history of Texas from 1519 to 1936. The decades from 1731 to 1761 were crucial years. Therein the first permanent population was settled. Indian tribes were pacified or marked off as enemies, to plague government for a hundred years till Lamar and the Republic would try a final solution of the problem. The French Louisiana border was blocked by *presidios* and allied native groups. Unchartered lands were explored along the Rio Grande, and far north to the Canadian and Red Rivers, and control was established wherever feasible.

Texas, like New Mexico, differed from the normal frontier story of New Spain. Elsewhere the northward advance worked ahead on continuous and broad fronts, in a thoroughly organized and protected series of towns, forts and missions, to the Gila and Colorado in Arizona and up the long peninsula of California. The expansion followed the policies set down by Philip II, in his aim of embracing the natives into the Spanish commonwealth according to the colonial theories of conquest, civilization, Christianization and exploitation. The missions led the way. Close behind came civilian occupation, with its governors and bishops, its miners and cattlemen, in the proud sweep of primary development. But Texas and New Mexico were at first only nodes at the end of tenuous lines of support. The New Mexico founding demanded a jump of eight hundred miles across open country to the fabled Seven Cities shrouded in the northern mystery. To hold that outpost required large expense in soldiery and an independent missionary organization.

The opening of Texas meant a similar strain on viceregal funds and man power. This distinctively defensive type of expansion went out to face the French, those descendants of La Salle who hoped to steal away the mines of Indé and Santa Barbara and the friendship and trade of the border Indians. Three times the French intruded into Texas, and three

times the Spaniards countered. To plant bulwarks against this threat involved an extension of power across seven hundred miles to the neighborhood of Natchitoches, and a cost that would never have been paid were it not for a grander aim and determination. That purpose and decision sought the souls of the Indians.

In the late seventeenth century the Franciscan order achieved an extraordinary advance in New Spain. On the ground since 1524 they had marked success in converting and consolidating the tribes in the circle about the capital. They had made or accompanied *entradas* into distant regions. Their spiritual ambition was unlimited, but time, space and numbers put limits on their work, and by 1683 they needed a new dynamic force to meet the new calls on their missionary prowess. This fresh impetus came from a set of training schools for missionaries called colleges *de Propaganda Fide*. At Querétaro in 1683 the order founded the college of Santa Cruz, whence came the famous offshoots of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Zacatecas and San Fernando in Mexico City. These colleges furnished the grand armies of missionaries who built the mission chains of east and central Texas and of California.

The vitality of these mission works cannot be overestimated. Assuredly without the boundless faith of the friars in the future of these endeavors, the settlements would never have come to pass. The Franciscans gave these rude beginnings a stiffening hardihood, a courage, a belief in themselves. They made civilized Christians of thousands of Indians. They supplied the economic nucleus of life. They literally created these provinces out of a chaotic nature and native barbarism.

The volume in hand details this story in Texas. Beginning with the previous thin foundation at San Antonio, the missionary dream of spiritual conquest urged on the civil development of town and farm, and the shepherding of Indians into many centers of happily organized life. Heroic deeds mark the narrative, deeds sometimes doomed to failure from the shortness of human vision or the poorly conducted military cooperation. The Apache mission exemplifies tremendous zeal spoiled by faltering officialdom. Yet if any continuous settlement came down to the nineteenth century, it was due almost entirely to the work of the Franciscans.

The historical work of Dr. Castañeda leaves little to be desired. Frankly showing his dependence on others who cultivated part of the field before him, his own contribution nevertheless demands wide recognition. The book is well-knit as a composition. The documentation is full, the bibliography adequate. The story is made intelligible by placing the achievement of the Querétaro college in the foreground. Good maps are wanting; the large plate of Texas lacks an addition to show the ground about Los Adaes and Natchitoches. Mention of the law requiring missionaries to teach Spanish to their charges needs qualification in order to make the action of other orders understandable. It should be stated that the

mission system far antedated the Texas story, though the author deserves commendation for his large and clear sketch of the working of that system. That "The lure of gold and silver mines account (!) in great part for the expansion northward" (p. 2), is certainly challenged by recent research on the history of Nueva Vizcaya. Some proofing might have eliminated a few weak word uses. Withal, there is no significant episode passed over, and an air of finality pervades the book in spite of the unassuming modesty of the style. The final volume in the colonial story will be awaited with interest and a hearty welcome.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University
Chicago

Early Catholic Americana, 1729-1830. By WILFRID PARSONS, S.J. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xxv, 282. $10.00.)

The first reaction of a reviewer to a work of this kind is to salute both compiler and publisher on a venture that has been considered desirable but difficult for the past fifty years. Father Joseph Finotti's *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* revealed two shortcomings from its first appearance in 1872: on the one hand, many works had been overlooked; on the other hand, it was an unfinished work,—"only the *first* part of a work," as the author insisted in his preface. And in the preparation of the present work both compiler and publisher were equally aware that much the same would be true of this. But in spite of this consciousness, both went ahead with their work, the compiler to the most complete list possible under the limitations natural to the undertaking, the publisher to give it a form both finished and substantial.

With the possible exception of the inspiration which he may have received from the eloquent appeal of Father Finotti for a successor, Father Parsons fortunately struck out independently of any influence of the previous work. This meant an undertaking of a large amount of additional labor, but it resulted in a fresher, more accurate and more authoritative bibliography. In all cases, where the compiler himself did not see the work described, he relied on the report of some equally able bibliographer. Some thirty libraries and a score of bibliographers were consulted in the process of compilation. Where Finotti had limited his work to books published before 1821 and had listed 295 titles, Father Parsons extended the limit to 1831 and found 1,119 titles. Beginning with 1729, the titles are listed year by year. In addition to the usual bibliographical notes, the various locations where copies may be found are mentioned. A list of the Union Catalogue symbols for library locations would have been very welcome as a guide, but a leaflet containing these is readily available.

Appendix I carries an additional list of books from the press of Mathew Carey and Appendix II a list of periodicals edited or published by

Catholics in the United States from 1785 to 1830. The Index is well done and is very helpful. The preface contains a brief outline of the history of the work while the introduction gives a short but exceedingly valuable history of Catholic publishers during the early period.

The importance of this book may be seen from the fact that it is an indispensable index and guide to a very extensive and important period in American church history; it serves in the same capacities for those who are interested in the general history of the times. Those interested in the history of publishing will find here the imprints of some of the outstanding names in the profession. To those who are interested in general works about Catholics in America, this book offers many interesting leads.

Even a cursory examination of this work will reveal two faults: some items are omitted and the lists of locations of copies are often too brief. The very careful bibliographer will find a few minor errors in the copying of title pages. But these are faults which every bibliographer encounters and the very fact that they are so obvious shows that they can be corrected without great difficulty. If they are not corrected, it will be the fault of those who observe them, for both compiler and publisher appeal for assistance in correcting the defects.

In the mind of this reviewer, the chief lack is that of more comment about the various items listed. Undoubtedly the vast amount of care and labor in assembling the large list occupied the time of Father Parsons to such an extent as to prevent comment. But it is exactly because he has gone into this subject so thoroughly that his comments would be exceedingly valuable and it is to be hoped that the next edition will carry fuller comments on at least the more important items. For the present, we have been supplied with a very useful and interesting work.

Those who discover faults in this work and those who know of copies which are not listed will render a real service if they will make known the omissions either to the compiler or the publisher.

FRANCIS A. MULLIN

Catholic University of America

Der Ludwig-Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I. von Bayern. Von P. Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B. (Munich: Die Salesianische Offizin. 1939. Pp. xv, 471.)

The volume under review is intended as a centennial memorial of the *Ludwig-Missionsverein* in Bavaria. As such it is a valuable contribution to the mission history of the Church in the past century. At the same time it is of importance to the American church historian, for the early history of this Society is closely bound up with the history of the Church in the United States.

The *Ludwig-Missionsverein* must be congratulated on having obtained the services of as capable and interested a recorder of its early history as

Father Willibald Mathäser, O.S.B. It is not a new field to him. During the past years he has interested himself in research concerning the relationship between the Benedictines and the Church in the United States and he has recorded his findings in many revealing articles. These articles always lay special emphasis on the interest of King Louis I of Bavaria in this relationship. Therefore we need not be surprised to find him interpreting the actions of the king in a rather favorable light. Yet anyone who has come in contact with the charitable works of the monarch can not but marvel at his great generosity in matters that pertained to the welfare of German Catholics. And Father Willibald bolsters up his contentions with many documentary proofs.

In this volume Father Willibald attempts to show the internal development of the Society during the time of King Louis. The material uncovered in this research was so extensive that the external relationships of the Society had to be relegated to a proposed second volume. The second volume will therefore concern itself much more than the first volume with the Church in the United States, even if of necessity much is said about our own early contributions to the founding of the Society. The internal struggles of the Society and its relationship with other mission societies is treated very extensively and in a thoroughly authenticated manner. It is pleasing to note that Father Willibald authenticates his statements concerning the relationship between the *Ludwig-Missionsverein* and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons with documents from the archives of that society. The struggle between the two societies seems to be treated adequately and with an earnest desire to reveal the whole truth. Therefore this part of the book can be called truly revealing and authoritative.

The American church historian will be specially pleased with the chapter entitled "Missionshaus Altötting", for it brings out clearly what this mission house was intended to do for the Church in the United States and what were the reasons for its failure. It may not really have been a failure, for the greater available sums of money brought about the transplanting of the Benedictines to the United States with their seminaries to prepare aspirants to the priesthood on the very soil where they were to work rather than on foreign soil, and these sums made possible greater assistance to Bishop Henni for his seminary at St. Francis, Wisconsin, which was conducted by the diocesan clergy. Father Willibald deserves the grateful recognition of the Catholic historian, no matter whether he be interested in the general mission history of the Church or in the particular history of the Church in the United States. We can only express the hope that the second volume will not be so long a-borning as this first volume of the history of the *Ludwig-Missionsverein*.

THEODORE ROEMER

Mount Calvary
Wisconsin

The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON. [University of California Publications in Education, Vol. IX]. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. vi, 198. $2.00.)

The generally accepted belief that from the fourth to the fifteenth century few outside the clergy were literate has hitherto remained almost unchallenged. Only a few scholars have approached the subject and their researches have, for the most part, covered very restricted areas. Professor Thompson's treatise, therefore, fills an important gap in medieval scholarship and must be reckoned with in any future discussion of lay learning. Since "the illiteracy of the common people is not open to question", the author has considered only the upper classes of medieval lay society, the rulers and the nobility, both men and women. Although he finds an increasing use of the various vernaculars as written languages after the twelfth century, he has taken the knowledge of Latin as the test of literacy. Wherever possible he has distinguished between the ability to understand the spoken word, the ability to read, and the ability to write. While some evidence from the late thirteenth century is included, the book deals mainly with the period from the fifth to the early thirteenth century.

Within the scope thus outlined, Professor Thompson has presented a mass of detailed information taken largely from widely scattered primary sources which he quotes generously in the notes. Such secondary material as exists is carefully weighed and, in many cases, summaries of pertinent controversies are given in the text. There are chapters on the early middle ages, the Carolingian Renaissance, and, for the later period (*c.* 900—*c.* 1300), separate chapters on Italy, Germany, France and Flanders, and England. Since there are relatively few reliable contemporary descriptions of educational conditions in general, the author has treated individually each ruler and all the important noblemen and noblewomen about whom any pertinent information is available. The result, a kind of educational encyclopedia, lacks fluency of style and gives somewhat the impression of a compilation of notes. Moreover, the omission of an index is unfortunate in a monograph of this type. But these criticisms are not intended to obscure Professor Thompson's significant contributions to a new field of medieval research. Although variation from country to country and from century to century is too great to permit many broad generalizations, the author does insist that in respect to lay learning, "the cultural achievements of the Carolingian age have been magnified at the expense of both the preceding and the succeeding periods" (p. 27). For the later era, the evidence points to the conclusion that while "the art of writing lagged behind the art of reading, . . . we must modify the old belief in the almost total illiteracy of the laity in the Middle Ages" (p. 196). "Nor can the usual contrast between the general condition of

illiteracy and ignorance in the Middle Ages and the enlightenment of modern times be accepted without reservation". (*ibid.*)

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

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Le P. Lacordaire ressuscite en France l'ordre de S. Dominique. Par H. D. NOBLE, O.P. (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1938. Pp. ix, 134. 12 fr.) *Lacordaire dans l'intimité du monastère.* Par V. GELLON. (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1939. Pp. xii, 104. 12 fr.)

This year marks the centenary of Lacordaire's famous *Mémoire pour le rétablissement en France des frères prêcheurs.* Celebrations in honor of this centenary have been held with due solemnity in Rome and in Paris. Fittingly these two small volumes have been published to commemorate the event. The first, written by a scholar of his own order, Père Noble, describes briefly the great Dominican's efforts to bring the Blackfriars back to France. The difficulties were overwhelming. Arrayed against him were such diverse and powerful forces as the Gallican bishops, Metternich and Cardinal Lambruschini, the papal secretary of state. Every effort was used to discredit him, but his courage was equal to the task. It is inspiring to learn with what determination and confidence he came to Paris in 1842 to preach the Advent sermons. No obstacle, great or small, deterred him from his goal.

Père Noble tells the story of this episode in Lacordaire's career largely from his personal letters written during those troubled years. Much of this correspondence, especially that with Montalembert and with Madame Swetchine, is edited for the first time; and hence this volume becomes necessary for anyone interested in Lacordaire and in French history during this particular period. It is to be regretted that these letters were not arranged in better chronological order because in certain parts the reader is forced to jump back and forth without sufficient reason. There are typographical slips on pp. 5, 123, 131 that should be corrected.

The second volume by Canon V. Gellon continues the life of Lacordaire where Père Noble ended. Gellon deliberately avoids studying his subject as an eloquent preacher and confines himself to a consideration of Lacordaire as a good religious. For this reason he dwells especially on Lacordaire's predilection for and intense interest in Chalais, the home for many years of the French Dominican novitiate. This rugged mountain retreat was the apple of Lacordaire's eye and he spent as much time there as his many labors would allow. Even when he was preaching before immense throngs, a feeling of nostalgia for Chalais would steal over him, as his letters bear witness. It was not the scenic grandeur that proved such a great attraction but the beautiful religious life led by the zealous novices and their masters. Lacordaire selected his best men to train his novices and on several occasions he penned truly inspiring letters on the

religious life. His letter (p. 31) to Père Besson, novice-master and a remarkably holy man, is a stirring exhortation to perfection. Equally admirable is the letter (p. 59) which he sent to Père Besson's successor on the duties of a novice-master.

Like Père Noble, Canon Gellon makes abundant use of Lacordaire's correspondence; and whenever it is possible to have Lacordaire tell the story of his own activities and religious principles, the author gives him the opportunity. This method will recommend this book to those interested in the holy, learned and eloquent Dominican.

HARRY C. KOENIG

St. Mary of the Lake Seminary

Italy and the Vatican at War. A Study of Their Relations from the Outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War to the Death of Pius IX. By S. WILLIAM HALPERIN, Instructor in History in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. xvii, 483. $3.00.)

The volume under review is the second on the subject of Church-State relationships in Italy in the 19th century written by Dr. Halperin within as many years. The first slender volume, *The Separation of Church and State in Italian Thought from Cavour to Mussolini,* was an analysis of the doctrines of the leading theorists and political philosophers on this perennially difficult problem. The present volume eschews theory for the more solid ground of historical fact. The scope of the work is restricted to the period from the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in July, 1870 to the death of Pope Pius IX in February, 1878. A third volume is promised which will continue the story from 1878 to the present.

In a subject choked with the evidences of bitter feeling and animosities on both sides, Dr. Halperin has felt his way through a mass of materials in the fashion of a true historian. He gives no sign of partiality or bias; he allows his sources to speak for themselves. Be it said at once that these sources are abundant and the author has buttressed every page to overflowing with citations of archival materials in Paris and Vienna, to the leading secondary works, and to the best periodical literature on the subject. His use of the press of a number of countries, especially Italy and France, is admirable. He has combed the newspapers and journals of the right and left persuasions in those two countries with uncommon thoroughness. There are a considerable number of references as well to the presses of Germany, England, and Austria-Hungary.

After finishing this book the reader will have little difficulty in understanding why it took fifty years to heal the wounds left at the deaths of Victor Emmanuel and Pius IX in 1878; this volume will enhance the accomplishment of Pius XI and Mussolini in bringing this feud to a close in 1929. Each side was guilty of excesses in statement and action, but

when all the evidence is weighed the fair-minded student is compelled to admit that the Italian occupation of Rome remained a despoliation. True, it was the wish of the majority of the inhabitants of Rome, as likewise its results proved the reverse of calamitous for the Church in general, yet one can understand the fulminations of Pius IX and Cardinal Antonelli during the first years. One can likewise sympathize with the embarrassment of Premier Lanza and his foreign minister, Visconti-Venosta, and admire the restraint and the efforts for appeasement which they exercised. As time passed and passions cooled a more conciliatory attitude appeared at the Vatican, and as early as the spring of 1871 Pius IX made clear what a moderate concession he demanded when he told the French ambassador: "Sovereignty is not to be sought in times like these. I know this better than anyone. All that I desire is a small corner of land where I will be master." (p. 196) A few days later he spoke in a similar vein to Kálnoky, the Austrian ambassador, when he remarked: . . . "I would content myself with the strictly necessary, but it is indispensable that the sovereign pontiff be free and in no way dependent on any power, and that will never come to pass unless the pope possesses, as a sovereign, the territory on which he resides. . . ." (Note 145, pp. 196-197)

The last years of the decade did not witness a more sympathetic group of statesmen at the helm of the Italian government. On the contrary the triumph of the leftist majority in the elections of 1876 made matters more acute. It is small wonder that the Church should find no hope of a peaceful settlement with Depretis, the premier, a man who could publicly declare the Vatican, "a sect which makes religion an instrument of mundane power, and this sect is our enemy," and he added that the government was not without its own religion—"the religion of civilization and progress." (p. 437) To which one might add: excellent liberal doctrine of the late 19th century, but hardly palatable to the Pope who stood as the head of religion resting on divine revelation and not on "civilization and progress."

Dr. Halperin's book is in general so well done that the reviewer is reluctant to dwell long upon the few minor flaws detected or questions left unanswered. There are several points, however, that should be mentioned. First it is a mistake to plunge the reader at once into the tangled negotiations concerning the September convention on the first page without giving something by way of an introduction. Was it true that there were twenty-eight "archbishops" in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1872? (p. 182). The number of metropolitan sees would seem excessive for that time. Again is Soltau's work correct in stating Louis Veuillot, the French publisher, guilty of "deliberate misrepresentation" in the columns of the *Univers?* (p. 207). That the editor was guilty of "scurrilous abuse" there is no doubt, but deliberate misrepresentation is another thing. A further question which occurs to the mind of the reader is to ask if the

Jesuits were the "sole" teachers in the field of the secondary education in Rome in the 1870's (p. 285). It would be interesting to learn just how Pius IX aided the agreement between the legitimist and Orleanist factions in France. (p. 320) Likewise it would have proved more enlightening for the reader if Mr. Halperin had set down the figures for the elections to the parliaments in Italy and France as well as the figures by which the critical legislation passed these two bodies. It would give a more exact picture of the amount of strength behind the winning and losing sides in these contests. Finally the book suffers from a failure on the part of the author to take any cognizance of the opinions and moves of the government of Spain. Much space is rightly devoted to France, considerable too to Austria and Germany, but there are but three significant mentions of Spain and its reactions (pp. 345, 421, 459). No study of this kind is complete without considerations of Spain as a Catholic country vitally interested in the fate of the Holy Father.

These are but small counts against a book which is an admirable contribution to 19th century history and a credit to American historical scholarship. The volume has an adequate index but no bibliography, though the full footnote references make up in the main for this omission. The reviewer noted only one printer's error. In note 23, p. 458 one should read 'Pecci' for 'Pesci'.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

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The Human Caravan. By JEAN DU PLESSIS. Translated by Francis Jackson. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1939. Pp. ix, 366. $3.00.)

Not the least achievement of this book is the modest number of its pages in relation to its range; with justice its synthesis may be termed *multum in parvo.* It is the fruit, the author tells us, of wide and diligent research, of travel, of observation, of deep pondering; on these have been brought to bear sound philosophy and a living faith which sought enrichment for the work in prayer and suffering. Throughout, his purpose is to demonstrate the direction and meaning of history; for him, as for St. Augustine fifteen centuries ago, history must be interpreted in the light of eternal reality.

Part I is concerned with clarifying the purpose of the book and demonstrating the relation of this to impartiality. It stresses the necessity for a panoramic viewpoint, a comprehension of the unity of history, despite its bewildering complexity and disillusioning details—indeed because of these. Part II assembles the ten laws which the author sees proceeding from the law of life and governing the development of human history, *viz.* organization by political action and reaction, cyclic transformation, multiplication of numbers, extension, complication, concentration, materialization, acceleration, universalization, unification. Upon the apparent

chaos of the caravan he would have us fix the steady, considering gaze of the astronomer intent on the heavens. He finds history in its manifest disorders bearing testimony to man's fallen state; whatever of genuine order or true progress (i. e. moral progress) emerges is through the ruling of a higher order. Upon history itself is laid the burden of proof for the thesis that it has direction and meaning, for history reveals human progress as relative, man as craving and seeking the absolute. The interpretative survey of the movements of human history presented in Part III—a really notable accomplishment in condensation—stresses tendencies universal to humanity: the passion for unity and the passion for domination, operating always, surviving repeated frustration and defeat.

"The Leaders of the Caravan" (Part IV) reviews the ancient civilizations from the viewpoint of the problem of God in history, tracing in the multiform religious manifestations of early peoples evidences of the primitive tradition. The escape of the West from the "circular immobility" of the East (East and West as historical rather than geographic terms) is accounted for on the basis of western religious beliefs; pre-supposition of the freedom of the will underlies the *action* of the West. Leadership of the spirit in the West has proceeded from progressive Judaism (progressive before Christ), Graeco-Roman civilization, and Catholic Christianity. Today's "civilization of apostasy" in the West, where increasing paganism marks its secularism, is seen facing an East invaded by the externals of western materialism. In the choice between these lies the world's dilemma, out of which arises one leader toward the City of God—for East and West, Jews, Greeks, Romans, would be as nothing without the Church of Christ. Here history shows a society transcendent, altogether unique, universal, permanent yet progressive, potent of herself to expel poison from her own system, necessarily exclusive through dogma which spells unity and deliverance.

The role played by Satan, which forms the theme of Part V, is attested by the quality of evil which has vitiated the stream of history. Marked by a spirit ultra-human and utterly anti-human, by opposition to reason, all attacks upon the Church, whether through violence, heresy, or paganism ancient and modern, give evidence of the unity, continuity, and singleness of purpose of a diabolic commander-in-chief—the Prince of the City of this World.—Part VI, "The Remainder of the Road", deals, naturally, in forecast, with the experience of history, as guide. The Caravan of the future, moving with ever-accelerated pace, is seen marching toward an all inclusive political unity—the extension of the deified super-state throughout the world. Contending for mastery with this despotism, will be, on the one hand anarchy, on the other the Catholic Church, seeking first, last, and always the extension of the Kingdom of God. "Neither East nor West for her; only the human race."

It is a distinct advantage to find gathered in one volume of moderate size all that this book offers. By his own path the author has arrived at conclusions in regard to history which, in the main, agree with those of Belloc and Dawson, Maritain, Berdyaev, Wust. Comparison with these writers will intrigue the thoughtful reader of *The Human Caravan,* which forms a valuable contribution to that historical apologetic for which Professor Ross Hoffman has more than once demonstrated the need.

In general the translation runs smoothly. It may be questioned whether for Chapter I, Part I, the caption, "The Steeple Chase" is a felicitious choice. Typographical errors appear in "exorcised" for exercized (p. 282), and "principal" for principle (p. 296). A slip in either translation of typography has been made in the sentence: "Pelagius and Celestius denied the necessity of grace and *of* original sin." (Italics mine.) A table of contents so full as to form an outline, and an adequate index contribute to the usefulness of the work. There is appended "A Note for the Reader Who is in a Hurry"—but the hurried reader will never get the values which this book has to give.

SISTER MARY EVA

Rosary College

Beyond Politics. By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1939. Pp. 136. $1.50). *The Future of Freedom.* By DOUGLAS JERROLD. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1939. Pp. 306. $2.50.)

In Dawson's penetrating analysis of the basic problems of present-day society the reader is told that we are witnessing changes which represent something far greater and deeper than the rise and decline of particular states. A transformation of civilization is in progress today which surpasses anything the world has ever known before in its history. The basic cause of this transformation has been the creation by western civilization of a mechanical monster that threatens to devour the culture that created it. Admittedly, our mechanized civilization, viewed simply as a system and independently of the personal desires of men, is constantly becoming more inhuman. And the most ironical phase of the whole problem is that men freely acknowledge that they know of no solution to the grave problems created by their own inventions.

The modern state is faced with the problem of assuring work and the necessities of life to all members of society. This is a problem which is little short of terrifying. Almost in proportion to the progress of mechanization does the need of human labor disappear. How can the modern state control its mechanized society in such a way that there will be sufficient employment for the members of society? And, above all, how can the modern state solve this problem without assuming dictatorial powers which are destructive of man's personal liberty?

The democracies appear incapable of solving the problem. They have certainly preserved freedom for their citizens, but they have done so at a terrific price. They lack a definite aim, social discipline and national unity. And it does not seem possible that any nation lacking these qualities can hope to solve the problem that faces it today.

The dictatorships, on the other hand, possess a definite aim, social discipline and national unity. But they have paid too high a price for them. The freedom of their citizens has been impaired in varying degrees. And it does not appear that any solution can be regarded as permanently valid which is based upon the restriction of the rightful liberty of a nation's citizens.

Can the modern state solve this problem? Is it possible today to have a state which has a definite aim, social discipline, national unity and which, at the same time, recognizes human liberty, the primacy of the spiritual, and the rightful place of the Church in society?

Without pretending that he has any panacea at hand, the author offers a number of suggestions which he believes may help the state and Church to solve this grave problem. There is hardly a page in this small book which will not be fruitful of thought for any reader. One would be justified in saying, however, that the virtue of this book lies primarily in its luminous presentation of the basic problem which underlies the constantly shifting political changes of our day.

Beyond Politics is in no sense an ordinary book. It is a truly brilliant analysis of the difficulties which the modern state must face. It is compulsory reading for anyone who professes interest in contemporary history.

The sixteen chapters of the volume by Douglas Jerrold on political prudence have been modestly characterized by the author as 'Notes on Christianity and Politics'. The objective of the work is quite clear: it is written with the hope that it may be of some service to those who are disillusioned as to the ideas of 1789, who are distrustful of easy alternatives, and who are desirous of seeing not only a restoration of authority where authority is necessary but also a rebirth of freedom in those spheres of activity where men must be free if they are to be worthy citizens either of this world or the next.

The Future of Freedom is essentially a call to action directed in general to all those who are, or should be, interested in the preservation of the Christian social order. Especially is it directed to those who feel that there no longer exists such an order to be defended, that is, that a defense of the present social system involves a defense of capitalism which is as immoral as communism itself.

The reader is reminded that men are too easily forgetting that the best features of western civilization are products of Christianity. For example, the recognition of the rights of the human personality and the separation of church and state (in the sense that each is recognized as an autonomous

society with a definite sphere of activity) are definite contributions of Christianity which counteracted the de-personalizing, all-absorbing claims of the pre-Christian 'totalitarian' states. Today men foolishly consider the abolition of the present social order and the re-creation of totalitarian states in the hope that such a change will effect economic betterment. Such a change would obviously not represent progress. It would involve not only a reversion to the defective states of pre-Christian times but also the sacrifice of man's liberty (his most highly prized endowment) in the interests of a program that might possibly but not probably procure a lesser good, namely, a more equitable distribution of the material necessities and luxuries of life.

Actually, men must be realistic enough to expect that human nature being what it is there will always be a certain amount of exploitation in society. And they must be honest enough to acknowledge that the Christian social program has not failed. The truth is that Christianity has never been tried. In so far as our present society is characterized by a maldistribution of life's necessities, such evils can be traced to the departure from Christian principles on the part of those holding political, social and economic power. In so far as our present civilization involves a recognition of the basic rights inherent in human nature, this recognition can be attributed primarily to the acceptance and practice of Christian principles.

In a superb chapter on the secular character of the modern state the author writes with a spirit which is so truly Christian that his thoughts will undoubtedly seem extreme even to some members of his own faith. The fact remains, however, that many of our modern states which are professedly 'Christian' are anything but that in practice. Indeed, instead of these states recognizing the primacy of the spiritual, as any Christian state must, they feel that they are being extremely liberal when they recognize the right of the Church to exist and acknowledge that it has a sphere of activity proper to itself. The author mentions many activities of our so-called 'Christian' states which are veritable anomalies: for example, the current practice, so destructive of social well-being, of stepping completely out of their proper realm and assuming the prerogative of dissolving marriages performed by the Church.

Quite rightfully, the author reminds the modern state that if it is to continue in existence it must lose no time in adopting a re-vitalized Christianity. The ever-increasing secularization of 'Christian' states, as evidenced in their official indifference to conflicting forms of religion and morality, must be brought to an end.

The author does not hesitate to remind the democracies that in practice they have been more anti-Christian than several dictatorship powers. He strongly contends that dictatorships are not necessarily un-Christian; for instance Portugal, Spain and Italy are examples of Christian dictatorships.

In contrast France, England and the United States are so-called 'democracies' which are certainly far less Christian than the above dictatorships. The author frankly acknowledges that, if present trends continue, the future of Christianity lies principally with the new Italy, the new Spain and the new Portugal.

The Future of Freedom is a spirited and well-written book. Many who read it will disagree violently with the author. But it should prove profitable and provocative reading for all who are interested in the grave problems of contemporary society.

CHARLES J. MCFADDEN

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America in Mid-passage. By CHARLES and MARY BEARD. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. iii, 977. $3.50.)

The authors of this book have become the representatives of that form of historical writing which assimilates facts gathered from a variety of sources, primary and secondary, colors them by a point of view, and presents them to the general reader to take or leave as he pleases. No supporting references are offered, and no bibliography. Its ultimate value will lie, therefore, in the history of opinion, rather than in the history of events. Indeed it may be unfair to expect anyone to cover without errors the political, economic, social, literary, dramatic and scientific events of the last ten years, to say nothing of foreign affairs. Already, in fact, the publishers have sent out one hurried correction of a misstatement concerning the participation of Mr. Harry Guggenheim in the Anaconda Copper pool! I note, also, that in the authors' efforts to invalidate the sincerity of Justice Owen Roberts in delivering the opinion that declared unconstitutional the Agricultural Adjustment Act, they have fallen into error. They imply that his friendly relations with Senator George Wharton Pepper, who represented the opposition to the Act, was responsible for his decision, and further remark that these gentlemen "had studied together at the University of Pennsylvania." As a matter of fact, Senator Pepper had graduated from the Law School of the University before Justice Roberts had entered the freshman class of the undergraduate College. This error in itself may not be important; but it could have been avoided by a simple reference to a copy of *Who's Who in America*. These two incidents make one question the accuracy of other statements, and accuracy, after all, is essential in historians who take such a positive tone in judging of motives and actions of public men and women.

Fortunately, the general point of view of the book is a liberal, rather than a Tory or a radical one. The authors have a dislike for the *laissez faire* policies of the Coolidge-Hoover regime, and liberals will be amused by the satire of that period, just as Tories will be annoyed by it. The

causes of the crash of 1929 are given fairly enough. The stand taken by Secretary Stimson against Japanese repudiation of the Nine-Power Pact is emphasized, as are also the failure of Great Britain and France to support us. The difficulties of President Hoover are treated as sympathetically as the successful efforts of President Roosevelt to meet the situation in 1933. The authors are apparently in favor of the New Deal in most of its attempts, and yet their talent for destructive criticism cannot resist opportunities for showing its failures to meet all the problems of today. In fact, very few attempts are made by the authors to solve these problems. They content themselves with stating them, which may indeed be wisdom on their part.

In those portions of the book which deal with the arts and sciences, the Beards are not as happy as in the discussions of politics and economics. Their attempt to prove that Hitler and Mussolini conspired to suppress the film version of Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here*, neglects to consider that both the novel and the play derived from it were so poor that the film may have been stopped because the central character of the book was such a feeble imitation of a liberal that a movie hero could not be made out of him. And later the linking of this assumed cause for the suppression of the film with the efforts of the Catholic Legion of Decency to save the children of the nation from the horrors which the moving pictures spread broadcast, is simply absurd. Then the authors proceed: "so with the censorship exercised through threats of exclusion and retaliation by Hitler and Mussolini was associated the iron discipline of the greatest authoritarian church on earth." The historians who do not know that the Church has kept alive the spirit of democracy for more than nineteen centuries are just a little weak in their history! They are weak also in their historical perspective of the novel, for they class Howells, Jack London and Upton Sinclair together. They miss the significance of Eugene O'Neill altogether, and criticize Robert Frost because "he has no precise terminus." Just why a poet should have a precise terminus is not apparent. In short, the Beards had better let literature and drama alone, for the history of literature cannot be written in the superficial manner which such a book as this permits. In the treatment of education, the Beards are on sounder ground. They recognize the necessity of simplification, and see also that such views as those of President Hutchins of the University of Chicago are strangely similar to those which the Church has always maintained.

It is impossible, of course, in a brief review to discuss many phases of *America in Mid-passage*. Perhaps, after all, the result of such a book is to keep the American public from forgetting the dark days of 1930 when bread lines were clogging traffic on Times Square and very different lines were besieging the box-offices of theatrical successes a few yards away. As a people we are too prone to forget both our early and our most recent

history. The thoughtful reader may not agree with everything the Beards have to say, but he will at least be furnished with ammunition in his discussion with the reader who does not think at all.

ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN

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Invisible Empire, The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866-1871. By STANLEY F. HORN. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1939. Pp. x, 434. $3.50.)

The disgraceful record of the Ku Kux Klan is known to every American historian but the "complete story of its existence" has never been told. This Mr. Horn attempts to do, using no new materials, and studying only the scattered secondary works and the thirteen volumes of testimony gathered by the congressional committee of 1871. Although neither his facts nor his conclusions are original, the book may prove useful to those wishing a brief picture of an unpleasant interlude in southern history.

The first section of the study is devoted to a discussion of the origin and growth of the Klan, and to its method of operation. Its beginning in December, 1865, by a group of prankish young men in Pulaski, Tennessee, its early growth, its transition from a fun-loving society to a vicious organization bent on driving the Negroes from power, and its elaborate ritual are all adequately described. The main body of the book examines the Klan's career in each southern state, and a concluding section recounts the story of the congressional investigation and of the Klan's decline. The author believes that the organization died out partly because it admitted lawless scoundrels who perpetrated their own bloody deeds under its cloak of secrecy and partly because of the action of the federal government, but chiefly because it had accomplished its purpose: the restoration of white rule in the south. One of the final chapters is devoted to an elaborate examination of circumstantial evidence to prove the well-known fact that General Nathan Bedford Forrest was the Grand Wizard and principal organizer of the Klan.

Despite this well-rounded story, *The Invisible Empire* will be of little use to historians. Its lack of "distracting footnotes", to use the author's own term, makes it impossible to check the many doubtful statements. This is particularly unfortunate because of the obvious bias of the writer. Mr. Horn is a southern journalist, and his sympathies are so patently with the Klan that his history is little more than thinly-veiled propaganda. He views the Loyal League of the Reconstruction period as a blood-thirsty organization threatening the supremacy of white rule, the chastity of white womanhood, and the lives of southern gentlemen. Its "incendiary" publications (p. 192) and "excesses" (p. 216) in his eyes justified the "retaliatory and defensive action" taken by those who formed the Klan (p. 216). The physical persecution of Negroes Mr. Horn excuses on the ground that

former slaves were accustomed to beatings (p. 68), and the antics which deprived the Freedmen of the vote he sees only as "harmless hazing" (p. 217). Most of the violence ascribed to the Klan he blames on wretches clad in Klan uniforms, although every illegal action of the Negroes is laid, with no better evidence, directly at the door of the Loyal League.

Mr. Horn's concluding paragraph contains a clearly-implied declaration of his own sentiments:

> So lived and so died the Ku Klux Klan. It made its name a symbol of terror and desperation. There are today many thousands of Americans who think of it as an indefensible gang of outlaws and murderers. But ask any person who lived in the south during that wild nightmare called the Reconstruction and who saw the Klansmen as they went about their self-appointed task, ask such a one and from the light of his eyes it will be easy to see that the Klan in his memory is clad in shining armor, *sans peur et sans reproche.*

Perhaps this book will inspire a new volume on the Klan, one by a competent historian whose knowledge of the Reconstruction period embraces the "revisionist" point of view rather than being based solely on antiquated monographs and such one-sided works as R. S. Henry's *Story of Reconstruction.* If so, it may partially offset the harm done by the publication of an intolerant book in an increasingly intolerant world. Finally this reviewer hopes that the day will come when authors realize that "Negro" is properly capitalized.

The book contains an adequate index and an appendix.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

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Letters of James Gillespie Birney 1831-1857. Edited by DWIGHT L. DRUMOND. Two Volumes. (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc. 1938. Pp. xxxvi, 1189. $10.00.)

The correspondence published in these volumes is another valuable addition to the source material of abolition now available in print. Most of the letters were taken from the Birney manuscripts in the Library of the University of Michigan, supplemented from other depositories, the Library of Congress and the Boston Public Library. Included also are letters to Birney from other important abolitionists, letters from the Elizur Wright and Lewis Tappan collections in the Library of Congress, and the Gerrit Smith manuscripts at Syracuse University. By now, a student in any well regulated library should have available sufficient printed material with which to examine the intimate workings of the antislavery movement, inasmuch as this correspondence may be set beside *The Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke* (New York, 1934). G. H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse 1830-1844* (New York,

1933) serves as an excellent introductory monograph. Messrs. Barnes and Dumond are to be thanked for their efforts which have served, within the past six years, to revise opinion of this phase of pre-Civil War American history. It is to be hoped that the text writers may soon catch up with them.

James G. Birney was an important figure in the abolitionist movement because he was one of its most effective pamphleteers, but his greatest notoriety came from his position as candidate of the Liberty Party for President, in 1840 and in 1844. He is, therefore, the embodiment of the antislavery impulse in its political manifestation during the forties, after its term as a moral reform movement and prior to its absorption into the free-soil movement which came after the Mexican War. In the political period, Birney furnished leadership and guidance which made his character and principles the party's platform. "Birney was the Liberty party" (p. xvii). As Dumond suggests, it was only natural that the Whigs, the party accustomed to the acquisition of abolitionist votes by means of cheap promises, should attempt to destroy the independent political group by an attack upon the reputation of its leader. The result was the Garland forgery, designed to prove that Birney was a Democrat in disguise, one who sought to elect Polk in 1844. Birney vigorously repelled the charge, and the documents printed here serve to vindicate him, but not to change the facts of political history.

During its brief history the Liberty Party was heir to the afflictions that constituted main features of all abolitionist enterprise, as well as a few characteristics of a "third" party. Not all abolitionists believed in the formation of a party, and the dissenters ranged all the way from the Garrisonian anarchists to such stalwarts of the regular movement who believed in restricting activity to the "questioning" of members of the existing parties who ran for office. Within the party, differences appeared between "one idea" men, those who insisted that the party stand for nothing except antislavery, and those who thought abolition possible if joined with a multitude of reforms. Liberty men found it difficult to slough off Whig or Democrat principles. The tariff, for one thing, was much talked about. Birney was willing to take a position with respect to this, and many other issues, because he believed his party should stand for general reform. In fact, though the abolition of slavery was the first and most important aim of the party, "A man may be a member of the Liberty party, though by no means a thorough abolitionist" (p. 1024). He believed in a tariff for revenue only. He was not in favor of a National Bank as long as slavery continued. Such an agency of credit would afford too many facilities in the South, "that insolvent portion of the country." The best way to serve the interests of all the states was to deposit money from the sale of public lands in the Treasury of the United States, and he was therefore against Clay's distribution scheme. Internal improve-

ments were not the business of federal or state governments; they should be left to private enterprise. In all this he professed Jeffersonian principles, but he showed more interest in civil equality than in any other aspect of democracy. He was skeptical of the results of universal suffrage, as one might be who had found democracy in Cincinnati a flimsy bulwark against mob violence. If he had been a member of the convention that formed the constitution he would have urged that the elective franchise be "the birthright of none, but easily attainable by all," with a view to the exclusion of those whom the "soberminded and law-abiding part of the community agree in pronouncing unworthy of being entrusted with so high an element of government." He would prefer to bestow the franchise upon foreigners, "with circumspection bordering on parsimony." The United States government was deemed in the beginning, "a Representative Republick, not, "a government in which the people collectively exercise the various powers of Sovereignty. . . . If we succeed in bringing about the establishment of *Justice* in the land we need give ourselves little concern about democracy" (pp. 744-748). It required a surprising amount of frankness to profess such ideas in public life in the forties.

Birney's plan for the abolition of slavery involved immediate use of the federal power, though he found little difficulty in reconciling his program with views which would have otherwise strictly limited that power. He was impatient with the notion that slavery was subject only to state regulation, for he believed that in the interest of the general welfare Congress ought to take action; more specifically, the federal government had the obligation to secure negroes as *persons* in their freedom and property (i. e. the fruits of their own labor). Congress was unable to make slaves by law, hence every act sanctioning slavery was unconstitutional. As respects the fugitive slaves, constitutional provision for their rendition must be interpreted in the light of a will on the part of the framers of the constitution that slavery must ultimately disappear, and slaves were entitled to *habeas corpus*.

G. H. Barnes's thesis, that the main stream of the abolitionist movement was from the well of religious enthusiasm, is confirmed by these letters. Birney's strong Protestant crusading instincts were essentially those of the Lane Seminary rebels, though he had a different social background and it now appears that he had made up his mind about the immorality of slavery before he met Theodore Dwight Weld (p. 12). Like the other reformers, Birney came to despise the clergy for their indifference to his cause but his acceptance of Protestant Christianity never wavered. He contented himself with a selection of churches and preachers who were "sound" on the slavery issue, and a steady conviction that scripture was all on his side. He suggests at one point some approval of Catholic practice in making, generally, no distinction between white and negro in the seating in church, but the occasion was to the embarrassment of a sexton

in the cathedral in Baltimore who was asked to explain why Negroes there were sitting in a reserved section. At another time he was prompted to address in an open letter a stinging rebuke to Archbishop Hughes, who had cast some doubt upon the genuineness of the antislavery address to Irishmen in this country by O'Connell, Father Mathew, and sixty thousand Irishmen at home. However, when we place Birney's letters beside those of other abolitionists, Beriah Green for instance, we are impressed by a comparative lack of pious rhetoric and, even in his broadsides, a surprising amount of candor and fairness. For the most part, therefore, these two volumes were not difficult reading. If they were better indexed reviewers might never discover this.

JOHN T. FARRELL

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Mary Ward: An Historical Romance. By IDA GOERRES COUDENHOVE. English translation by Elsie Codd. (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. Pp. viii, 260. $1.60.)

Paradise Planters: The Story of Brook Farm. By KATHERINE BURTON. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. Pp. x, 336. $2.50.)

For once the right author has undertaken to handle the right subject. Readers who for years have been following Ida Goerres Coudenhove's essays, her effort to interpret traditional Christian teaching in terms of the experience of our day and to bring its insights to bear upon our crucial problems, will at once recognize a certain kinship of spirit between her and the seventeenth-century Englishwoman whose life she has chosen for this book. Mary Ward, the foundress of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin, was another valiant woman, who in time of great confusion and crisis tried to free Christian energy from the limitations of secondary and accidental tradition and release its primary strength upon the problems of her time.

There is no question that there were very substantial reasons why the authorities of the Catholic Reformation insisted so strenuously upon the enclosure of religious women, but Mary Ward saw that in the conditions of her time there were great advantages to be derived from a new form of operation for women with a calling to education, and she set out with heroic resourcefulness to realize those possibilities by an organization of women who should move freely about the world for their work of teaching and catechising. She encountered the difficulties that any innovator in the field of religious pattern expects, and she bore them with a patience and an unflagging loyalty that no amount of suspicion or misunderstanding could shake. Perhaps the finest thing about Miss Coudenhove's study is her presentation of her heroine's spirit, at once so sane and so ardent, a combination not too common in the seventeenth century, or perhaps in any other.

Miss Coudenhove reveals descriptive gifts of a very high order in the brilliant series of scenes through which she follows Mary Ward. They range from English by-ways and Flemish alleys to the papal court in Rome. One gets a sense of particular color, a homely day-to-day actuality, as well as of the large-scale splendors of historical scene-painting. A host of figures move through the pages, briefly suggested yet vitalized by details that one recognizes as central to the life and spirit of the time. Not the least interesting thing in the book is the delicate study of the growth within Mary Ward's own mind and spirit from the sensitive, daringly-aspiring little girl to the valiant old woman with the tenderly-stored memory of a life rich in things loved and things suffered, and the unquenchable zest and hope of the institutional founder. This is a little book, but it is close-packed with suggestions of a great age; and the portrait of the great woman that is its theme is full-size. From start to finish it is a really distinguished piece of work.

New Englanders who were brought up on the legend of Brook Farm will read Katherine Burton's book with delight; and those who have never heard anything but the name of that high adventure will have a new experience of a very rewarding sort. It is easy to define intellectual movements in the abstract. It is not so easy to imagine what it was like to live a certain movement day by day, and it is still harder when such a whirlwind of currents of thought and feeling and imagination is involved as was the case at Brook Farm. For here on a typically New England piece of soil met a fair share of the cross-currents of utopianism and religious enthusiasm, political and social and economic radicalism, and aestheticism of the period. The classicism, the medievalism, the regionalism of the time all came here, not just as something to be talked about in discussions after supper, but as something to be experimented with and lived, in the school room, in the cow-barn and in the kitchen, and out in the rocky pastures and the nearby woods. It was an exciting thing for any generous and high-hearted young man or woman to come into contact with Brook Farm, and it's an exciting experience to read of it.

Such an adventure is bound to be a magnet for all kinds of eccentric as well as gifted people. Brook Farm had both. It is fun to see them come in—those one knows already, like Margaret Fuller, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Alcott, and Hawthorne, and those who are not so well known to the general reader of the literature of the New England group, but who for one reason or another are all interesting for what they did afterward, in often very different contexts. Such a one is Isaac Hecker, who went to Brook Farm on the road to Rome and the Paulist Fathers. He is a young man here, ardent, questioning, highly original and independent, with a certain humorous sanity,—a very attractive figure.

One gets, too, a very vivid sense of the life around the Boston of the period, at its very best in the Ripleys, as well as in some men and women

more widely known to fame today. This is a thoroughly critical and realistic picture of that life: its shortcomings stand out plainly enough, but it is an entirely understanding and sympathetic one. It leaves the reader with respect and liking for all the people involved, even for those specimens of humanity whom he might have found a little trying on too close acquaintance.

HELEN C. WHITE

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The Thirty Years War. By C. V. WEDGWOOD. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. 554. $4.50.)

Modern European history students and specialists on the Thirty Years' War will be grateful for this book, the most significant treatise on the subject since the appearance of Volume IV of the *Cambridge Modern History* in 1906. In twelve chapters the author discusses the German and European background of the war, the complexity of rival interests of local German rulers and of the non-German powers participating in the war, the peace settlement at Münster and Osnabrück and the consequences of the war and of the peace for Germany and Europe.

Throughout the volume there are illuminating character sketches (including those of Urban VIII, Innocent X and Fabio Chigi); careful analyses of personal, party, ecclesiastical and national interests; able descriptions of the significance of and reasons for the various military campaigns; easily understood accounts of battles and their consequences. Ordinarily there are no detailed discussions of military events; however, the important battles of Breitenfeld, Lützen, Nordlingen, Rheinfelden and Rocroy are presented in full detail.

Throughout the book there is a swift, absorbing narrative of events, intertwined with a presentation of the causes and effects of political interests, selfish considerations and intrigues, divisive forces. There is an informing treatment of the conditions of warfare, the characteristics of the mercenary armies employed, the almost universal desire on the part of the soldiers to avoid serious fighting, the frequent practice of desertion from the defeated leader to the victor (who could offer more certain food and pay), the great difficulties of maintaining military discipline, the vandalism of troops, the ruthless destruction of houses, farm animals, and other property, the heartless methods of plunder and the effective system of securing ransoms from the threatened cities. There are descriptions of the barbarity of the war, the resulting social disorganization, including cannibalism due to food shortages in the closing years (pp. 399, 412, 419), the paralyzing consequences of the war for business, industry, and agriculture. The only livelihood open to a great section of the population was that of being soldiers (p. 435).

In the chapter devoted to the peace negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück there is an admirable characterization of the participating diplomats, their time-consuming sparring for strategic advantages, their unwillingness to make any commitments because the war (still being waged) might improve the victory prospects of the respective countries.

The concluding chapter on the results of the war, "The Peace—and After", although one of the briefest, challenges the thought of the reader most. There is a good portrayal of how the advent of peace was out of harmony with the psychology of war, produced during a full generation devoted mainly to the business of fighting. This may be characterized tersely by the remark of one of the camp followers: "I was born in war, I have no home, no country and no friends, war is all my wealth and now whither shall I go?" In discussing the consequences of the war much evidence is presented to disprove some of the long accepted exaggerations as to the population and property losses due to the war (pp. 510-516).

Although Miss Wedgwood maintains an attitude of meticulous detachment throughout, she cannot refrain from interjecting appropriate comments bearing on the present world situation. These observations seem to prove that humanity learns slowly, if at all, from its gruesome past experiences. "The Peace of Westphalia was like most peace treaties, a rearrangement of the European map ready for the next war." (p. 525) "The overwhelming majority in Europe, the overwhelming majority in Germany, wanted no war." Of the leaders who let themselves be drawn into the war "almost all . . . wanted peace and fought for thirty years to be sure of it. They did not learn then, and have not learned since, that war breeds only war." (p. 526)

The bibliographical chapter (which refers to English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Swedish, Dutch and Swiss titles) is limited to those treaties that have appeared since the publication of the *Cambridge Modern History*, volume IV, 1906, Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 1930, and the 1931 edition of Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*. The book contains a useful map of central Europe in 1618, sixteen pertinent illustrations, two tables of "The Marriages of the Habsburg Dynasty" and "The Connections of the Leading Protestant Dynasties" of the period. There is also a good index. Singularly few typographical errors are noticeable: "see" for "sees" (p. 503), "Bidermann" for "Biedermann," and "Zuetande" for "Zustande" (both on p. 520, note 1).

CARL C. ECKHARDT

University of Colorado

The Prince Imperial. By KATHERINE JOHN (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1939. Pp. 391. $3.50.)

Mrs. John has devoted nearly four hundred pages to the boy who was trained to be Napoleon IV by the good-natured adventurer who was his father, and by his mother, the attractive and headstrong woman known to history as the Empress Eugénie. The birth in 1856 of this little son of Napoleon III was hailed with enthusiasm by friends of the Second Empire. During his childhood he was protected from any injury to his feelings that might be inflicted by the thoughtless or the politically hostile. In other respects, neither the emperor nor his consort behaved very intelligently in the rearing of their son. The father was too anxious to exhibit the little fellow, as a phase of his own publicity; the mother, sinning more grievously against the canons of wise parenthood, was almost brutally severe, and at times bad-tempered. Both fostered to the utmost the boy's military instincts and interests, placing them before his mental and even his spiritual upbringing. His later rather astonishing growth in religious fervor owed little to either of them. Certainly his philandering father was not the inspiration for that purity of life which distinguished the young prince to the very end.

The Franco-Prussian War changed the fortunes of the imperial family as abruptly as it transformed the map of Europe. Katherine John tells again the story of the events leading to Sedan: the jingoism of the French, their faith in their misdirected and poorly equipped army, and their sick emperor—all in contrast to German preparedness and to Bismarck's shrewdness in exploiting emotions at home and abroad. After the debâcle, Eugénie, who had acted as regent, fled to England, where she met her son. There they were joined by the fallen emperor. The country of their exile, was on the whole, hospitable and kind. Queen Victoria, always devoted to Eugénie, gradually grew fond of the little lad who had at first left her unimpressed. Louis was acutely unhappy. Unlike his globe-trotting mother and his cosmopolitan father, he had known no country but France. He was homesick and obsessed by a sense of futility. Life brightened for him only when he was admitted to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Since soldiering had always been his *métier,* his delight at this opportunity to train as an officer passed all bounds. He was installed at the Academy with his tutor and from then until the time of his graduation asked no favors as a prince. Instead, not naturally bright, he plodded along with almost pathetic zeal and concentration, until he rose higher and higher in his class. Meanwhile, amidst plans for the "return from Elba," the emperor's health grew worse. After his death his mantle fell on the shoulders of his grief-stricken son. The young man was wise. He, too, hoped for a restoration, but he discouraged mad schemes that would have exposed him to ridicule or ended in disaster. The most discreet of his followers hoped that the republic

would discredit itself to such an extent that the Bonapartists could return in triumph in the person of the "little Prince."

But such was not to be the evolution of history or the fate of the Prince Imperial. Following his English friends to the scene of conflict, he died in Africa, in the Zulu War, fulfilling, at least, his destiny as a soldier.

Mrs. John depicts her characters with insight and sympathy, although it is apparent that she dislikes Eugénie. There are numerous delightfully malicious thrusts at the antics of that somewhat theatrical lady. Napoleon III, on the other hand, is treated with much more consideration than is usually his lot at the hands of historians. The author writes well, in spite of a few examples of clumsy construction and some surprising lapses into contemporary slang. These do not at present impair the effect. One wonders, however, what will be thought of them, say, twenty years from now; for as a valuable contribution to historical biography, this book will in all probability achieve a fate less ephemeral than that of a non-fiction "best-seller."

GEORGIANA MCENTEE

Hunter College

Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews. By ISAAC DA COSTA, L.L.D. With some account of the Capadose Family (including their Conversion to Christianity) by Bertram Breuster and an Excursus on their Jewish History by Cecil Roth. 44 Plates. (New York: Oxford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1936. Pp. ix, 219. $14.00.)

About the middle of the seventeenth century a young Portuguese Marrano, Aharon Capadose by name, secretly fled to Amsterdam then the haven of Jewish refugees. There he was circumcized and later married, taking a wife from among his co-nationals, thereby laying the foundation of a large and prosperous family. He little expected indeed that after four generations of loyal and distinguished service in the synagogue his descendants of their own accord would forswear allegiance to Judaism and revert to Christianity from which he thought he had liberated himself and withdrawn his posterity forever. This change of allegiance first came about with young Dr. Abraham Capadose fifth descendant in direct line from the founder of the family who was baptized in 1822, later married a Christian wife and soon become one of the foremost leaders of the Evangelical party at the Hague. It reached a climax when, two years after Abraham's death, his son Isaac who also had married a wife from the Gentiles, left the Hague (1876) for Albury (Surrey), England, where until the ripe old age of eighty-six, he served at the headquarters of the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church, as Coadjutor of the Apostles. With his passing away in 1920, *finis* was written to the religious drama of which

six generations of Capadoses were the actors. It remained for their heir, the present head of the family, A. E. Capadose, now minister of the Apostolic Church at Gordon Square, London, to see to it that these doings and achievements, their moral worth and character as evidenced by their lives both individually and collectively, that is, as a family, should not go unrecorded. Hence the present volume written or rather compiled at his request and inspiration by his friend, Mr. Bertram Breuster.

Besides the usual initial features at the beginning (a short preface by Mr. Breuster, a shorter foreword by Mr. Capadose himself, a table of contents and the index at the end) it is made up of four distinct treatises: two by a long-departed friend of the family, the well known Dutch poet and evangelist, Isaac da Costa (pp. 1-103; 104-162), another one by Mr. Breuster (pp. 163-188) and a fourth one by Dr. Cecil Roth, the well known historian of the Marranos (pp. 189-205). Forty-four plates, the first of which serves as frontispiece, complete the volume.

The initial two parts of the compilation of course are not new. In fact the first one, "The Jews of Spain and Portugal," is but a reprint of chapter III of Mary Kenedy's English translation of da Costa's *Israel en de Volken* (*Israel and the Gentiles*) which appeared as early as 1850, and because just a reprint, it was not included in the title, otherwise so comprehensive of the book. As for the second, "Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews," it was first written as a series of articles in the Dutch periodical *De Navoorscher* (c. 1857) and then reprinted *talis qualis* in the second edition of *Israel in de Volken* (1876). It appears now for the first time in English in Mr. Breuster's translation.

These two rather long treatises (103 and 59 pages respectively) serve here as an introduction to the third and chief, though very much shorter, section "The Capadose Family," or rather the first one introduces the reader to the second, and this in its turn leads him on to the third which is concerned with the history of the family as outlined at the beginning of this review. It was written by Mr. Breuster, in two chapters, one for the first four Jewish generations, the other for the following three Christian generations; in a general way we presume out of the Capadose family records and heirlooms, but also for the last two generations out of his own personal recollections. But whatever his documentation, or his preparedness or natural fitness for a task were, Mr. Breuster had no sooner laid down his pen, than he was conscious of not having done justice to his subject, so far at least as the Jewish part of the story was concerned. So both he and Mr. Capadose considered themselves fortunate when Mr. Cecil Roth, upon an eleventh hour call for assistance accepted—notwithstanding his "profound disagreement with Mr. Breuster's theological views and implications"—to contribute the fourth and last section of this compilation, an "Excursus on the History of the Capadose Family", wherein he brings to Mr. Breuster's worthy lucubrations on the history of the first

four (Jewish) generations, such precisions as could hardly be expected from any other pen than that of the master of Jewish genealogy Mr. Roth has shown himself to be in his *History of the Marranos* (Philadelphia, 1932).

In a general way we cannot praise too highly this handsome volume for its merits both extrinsic and intrinsic. Mr. Breuster truly is to be congratulated for the felicitous if rather unusual way in which he discharged the task assigned him by his friend, *viz.*, "to make public some account of his collection of the Capadose heirlooms and family records." We do not mean of course that Mr. Breuster's work is absolutely above reproach—under the circumstances that would be too much to expect from almost anybody. As an editor he sometimes admits a necessary reference from the text or the footnotes. For instance, he nowhere gives us a detailed list of the plates, let alone a general description of the collection of heirlooms of which collection these forty-four plates constitute evidently but a small fraction. As an author, Mr. Breuster seems to enjoy leaving unsatisfied the curiosity he has aroused in his readers. Such for instance is the case of the publications of Dr. Abraham (senior he calls him) and particularly the account of his conversion to Christianity. Of this document of which he says that it was translated into many languages, adding rather vaguely, "it is said no less than sixty," and from which he seems to quote rather liberally, though tacitly, without referring to it in any way, Mr. Breuster, nevertheless mentions but one single edition, etc. We should have liked also to have been more fully introduced to that intimate friend" of Abraham Capadose's, to whom Mr. Breuster refers as "Dr. Da Costa," or just "da Costa." That this da Costa's first name must have been Isaac, we may well presume in the light of what Mr. Breuster says of him, namely that he stood as god-father to his friend's eldest son, Isaac Capadose, and we might further conclude that this Isaac Capadose was none other than the author of the first two sections of this compilation, although that identity is never hinted at by Mr. Breuster, who, instead seems to take pleasure in keeping us guessing as to who's who by keeping Dr. da Costa and Isaac da Costa separated in his index as if they were two quite distinct persons.

Of a more serious character is the treatment accorded by Mr. Breuster, or who ever is responsible for its description in plate XVIII. Even a cursory examination of this plate shows that the Hebrew text it reproduces is concerned not with the marriage of Isaac Capadose, but with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the marriage of Ahuron, son of Isaac Capadose, with Esther sister of Elisha, and daughter of David Pereira, anniversary of which fell in the Purvin Days, and if as stated in the inscription, the date was 1775, it follows that the marriage *en secondes noces* of Aharsul with Esther Perevia, left without a date on Mr. Breuster's genealogical tree, took place in 1850, that is the very year his first wife died (October,

1850). That much any how, and probably much more Mr. Breuster could have learned from that interesting document well worth studying more extensively than we can afford to do in a book review.

HENRI HYVERNAT

Catholic University of America

The Corporate State in Action. By CARL T. SCHMIDT. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. 173. $2.25.)

Dr. Schmidt introduces this brief study of the corporate political structure and economy of Italy with quotations from Aristotle on the tactics of a tyrant and from Thorstein Veblen on the "cultural effects of a discipline of warfare." These quotations give the key to his book, which is a secondary product of his recent study of Italian agriculture on a grant from the Social Science Research Council. Two chapters serve to present the blackshirt revolution as a movement conceived by adventurers as a means of acquiring personal power by choosing to be supported by the rich rather than the masses in the labor organizations, in accordance with the tactics discussed by Aristotle. The remaining five chapters set forth the reorganization of the parliamentary system, the dissolution of the labor unions, the "Battle of the Wheat" and its effect on Italian economy, the growing regulation of capital enterprise and the preferential treatment of industries necessary to war as a fulfilment of Veblen's thesis that a war discipline tends to make use of business interests as a means rather than an end.

Linguistic difficulties and censorship have kept mysterious the working of the corporate system. An objective and thoroughly documented presentation of its effects would be welcome to scholars. Unfortunately this study is neither objective nor well documented. References to sources are usually merely to orations of Fascist sympathizers quoted either in the Italian or American newspapers. A number of references are to published secondary works of the last twelve years, already available to Americans. Too many conclusions are general, and lack the proof on which the author accepted them. Some interpretations "are said" to be held, or "appear" to be so, without documentation; a number of results happen "of course" although there is nothing but an assumption of malicious intent to indicate that they were intended. The author makes no direct statement of his own attitude until the end of the book, where he asks thoughtful men to act against Fascism, which foreshadows "the black night of Caesarism". In the beginning his sympathy lies with the "masses" against the classes. At the end he extends it to all those under the regulation of the corporate state, and excludes from it only those to whom the Italian government shows favor, such as the automobile and chemical industries. He is a critic without a stated program; but a socialistic program is implicit in his evaluations throughout the work, even in his jokes and illustrative

stories. It appears in his indirect approval of the Italian socialist labor movement, in his criticism of the leaders for failing to take power in 1920, in his desire for the expropriation of agricultural lands, for state-operated industry, and for a social insurance system supported wholly by industry or by the state rather than by the laborers. It is further implicit in his omission of any discussion of religious questions under the corporate state, and in his omission, wilful or ignorant, of the opposition of the Church to totalitarian educational aims and to Italian racist policies. He sees the peasantry as attracted to the Church " perhaps less by pure faith than by superstition; " he lists " rigid control of the press, exploitation of youth, and a working alliance with the Church " as examples of the subordination of modes of expression " to the cultivation of a mythology of Mussolini and Fascism." He calls the financial agreement which accompanied the Concordat of 1929 a " very substantial indemnity " without mentioning the fact that the Pope waived his valid claim to much larger sums, or the fact that payment would not be complete for forty years. He quotes an Italian cardinal and the Holy Father when they praised Il Duce, but does not quote the selfsame authorities when they opposed his policies. He speaks of the " doctrinal catholicity " of Fascism, when he is treating its pragmatic eclecticism. These evidences of carelessness or animus cast doubt on the value of the other conclusions in the book.

ELIZABETH M. LYNSKEY

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The programme for the twentieth annual meeting of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, to be held at the Hotel Mayflower, Washington, D. C., December 28-30, 1939, has been announced by the committee, of which the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Joseph Moran Corrigan, Rector of the Catholic University of America, is chairman, and of which the Rev. Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., assistant professor of Hispanic American history in the same institution, and Richard A. Pattee, M.A., of the Department of State, are vice-chairmen. The general subject of the meeting will be the rôle of Catholic culture in the South American Republics. The subjects and the speakers are as follows: *Venezuela,* Miss Marie Madden, Ph.D., Fordham University; *Colombia,* the Rev. Dr. James A. Magner, Quigley Preparatory Seminary, Chicago; *Ecuador,* Richard A. Pattee, M.A., Department of State, Washington, D. C.; *Peru,* the Rev. Dr. David A. Rubio, O.S.A., the Catholic University of America; *Bolivia,* Miss Elizabeth W. Loughran, Boston College; *Argentine,* Walter M. Langford, Ph.D., University of Notre Dame; *Uruguay-Paraguay,* J. Manuel Espinosa, Ph.D., St. Louis University; *Chile,* the Rev. Dr. Edwin Ryan, New York City; and *Brazil,* J. de S. Coutinho, Sc.D., the Catholic University of America. There will be two luncheon conferences — one on *Mexico and Central America* by the Rev. Dr. Steck, and one on the *Caribbean Area,* by the Rev. Raymond A. McGowan, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C. It is hoped that this symposium will be published in book-form as Vol. IV of the *Papers* of the ASSOCIATION.

Longmans, Green and Company announce the publication of a *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* by the Rev. Dr. Joseph B. Code, with an introduction by the Most Rev. Amleto Giovanni Cicognani. It contains the biographies of more than 500 Roman Catholic prelates who have occupied American sees or Americans who have been raised to the episcopate. It also includes the lives of the six Apostolic Delegates to the United States. The importance of this publication has been recognized by the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, who has written the Introduction. The appearance of the book coincides with the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the American hierarchy and with the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Catholic University of America, which is under the immediate supervision of the American hierarchy.

The Department of State of the United States issued on July 1 a set of revised regulations with regard to the use by investigators of the original records of the Department. The new regulations provide that confidential or unpublished files and records of a date later than December 31, 1918, shall not be available to persons who are not officials of the United States Government. Records dated before 1919 shall be open to investigators, with the exception of "files which are in current use in the Department or which cannot be made public without the disclosure of confidences reposed in the Department or without adversely affecting the public interest." The Department may request permission from a foreign government for the use of confidential papers if it has reason to believe that the foreign government may be willing to permit the use of the papers in question under certain conditions. The concluding paragraph of the Department's regulations reads: "The provisions of this order are to be interpreted as liberally as possible. In this regard it is to be borne in mind that the further it is possible to go in the way of promoting legitimate historical research and the study of the foreign policy of the United States without violating the confidences necessary for the transaction of diplomatic affairs, the more likely the Department will be to receive the support and trust of the intelligent public."

These revised regulations were published in the first issue of a new weekly periodical, *The Department of State Bulletin*. Beginning with July 1, the Department discontinued publication of the weekly pamphlet *Press Releases*, and of the monthly *Treaty Information*. The material contained in these two publications is now included in the new *Bulletin*, along with other material on current developments in American foreign relations and the work of the Department of State. The *Bulletin* is organized in sections or departments, thus facilitating its use by those who are interested in following the developments in various fields from week to week.

"A list of Recent Bibliographies" compiled by Robert Hirsch is concluded in the July number of the *Bulletin of the New York Library*. There is an eight-page index. The August and September numbers publish parts VI and VII of the bibliography of "German Works relating to America: 1493-1800". The list is being compiled from the collections of the New York Public Library by Paul H. Baginsky. These two sections include the years 1733-1778.

The Division of Historical Research of Carnegie Institution of Washington announces that the annual List of Doctoral Dissertations in History in Progress at American Universities, formerly published by Carnegie Institution of Washington, will be taken over by the American Historical Association.

The first number of the *Index Bibliographicus Societatis Jesu,* designed to carry on the work of the *Moniteur Bibliographique,* has appeared under the able editorship of P. Juamblez, and covers all writings from Jesuit pens published during 1937. There are 2674 entries grouped systematically under many literary, historical, geographical, scientific, philosophical and theological subtitles. The *Index* differs from the *Moniteur* in this that only works by Jesuits are listed; but on the other hand the scope has been greatly extended. Considering this range and the variety of languages the absence of mistakes is noteworthy. However, by a happy oversight, Mr. Thos. F. Woodlock (the brother of two famous Jesuits) and Mr. Thos. F. Meehan (associated with the Jesuit editors of *America*) have been included. The *Index* is published at Rome, Borgo Santo Spirito, 5.

The latest volume of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* comprises the numbers 7378-9255 (Conjuratio-Eigenschaften). The largest items are *Donatus* with 360 editions, *Corpus juris civilis* with 197 editions, Datus' *Elegantiolae* with 107 editions, *Diurnale* with 73 editions, and *Cordiale* or meditations on the Four Last Things with 72 editions. Durandus' *Rationale* or *Reasons* explaining Catholic rites is represented with 44 editions, Duns Scotus with 31 editions, and Dante's *Divina Commedia* with 15 editions. Objectionable literature is represented with 38 editions of the superstitious work *Somnia Danielis,* 28 editions of the *Conjuratio daemonum,* and 13 editions of the seditious *Dialogus inter clericum et militem.* The *conjurationes* are booklets of eight or ten sheets containing prayers *pro iis qui a daemonibus vexantur.* Naturally they evince a widely spread belief of people in witchcraft. It is a curious fact that all these superstitious booklets with one exception were printed in the city of Rome and yet in Rome no witch was ever burnt. The *Dialogus* is a violent tirade against the prerogatives of ecclesiastical dignitaries and preaches a sort of Divine Right Theory of temporal powers. American libraries are often quoted in the references regarding the present location of copies. The Huntingdon Library at San Marino, Cal., possesses the only known copy of the *Contemplation of the Seven Sheddings of the Blood of Jesus Christ,* meditations on the Passion of Our Lord for each day of the week, which were printed about the year 1500 at London by Wynkyn de Worde. The present volume of the catalogue is the seventh of the whole work and was issued a few months ago. Presumably the *Gesamtkatalog* will comprise twenty or more volumes and will be finished in forty or fifty years.

Work on the projected *Medieval Latin Dictionary* in charge of a committee appointed by the British Academy continues to progress. The dictionary will present British and Irish Latin down to 1600. Thus far the committee has published a very serviceable *Medieval Latin Word-List* prepared by J. H. Baxter, Charles Johnson, and Phyllis Abrahams. The

work of editing will be begun shortly. The committee solicits contributions in the vocabulary of philosophy, theology, medicine, natural science, and in that of technical subjects, such as agriculture, architecture, etc. Information may be obtained from the Secretary, *Medieval Latin Dictionary* Committee, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W. C. 2, or from Professor Charles Beeson of the University of Chicago.

Francis X. Sadlier, son of William H. Sadlier and president of William H. Sadlier, publishers, died June 8 at the age of sixty-six. He wrote and revised textbooks in history and geography.

Percy J. King, K.S.G., president of the United States Catholic Historical Society, and member of the American Catholic Historical Association for the past twelve years, passed away on June 23, 1939. He took an active part in all Catholic activities in the United States, particularly in the publications of the New York Society—*Historical Records and Studies* and the *Monograph Series*.

Professor Andreas Veit, successor of Emil Göller in the chair of church history at Freiburg im Breisgau, died in April of this year at the age of fifty-nine. He was best known to American readers for his revision of the fourth volume of Hergenröther's *Kirchengeschichte*.

Harold W. V. Temperley, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, died during the month of July. Professor Temperley made outstanding contributions to recent diplomatic history. He is remembered especially for the model editing along with G. P. Gooch of the great English collection, *British Documents on the Origins of the World War, 1898-1914*, now complete in 12 Volumes.

George N. Shuster, prominent Catholic author of books in the fields of history and international relations, was recently appointed Dean and Acting President of Hunter College, one of the four municipal colleges of the City of New York. Dr. Shuster has served on the staff of *Commonweal*, and has been well-known for many years as a writer and teacher.

Professor John J. O'Connor has been named chairman of the department of history in St. John's University, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The present prefect of the Ambrosiana, Monsignor Giovanni Galbiati, contributes an article on "La producione scientifica di Achille Ratti" to the July number of *Aevum*. The copious and very varied writings of the future pontiff had as their thread of unity the history of the church of Milan and of Lombardy.

An article "Liturgy and Reform", by Abbé Chauve-Bertrand, translated by Father Edward S. Schwegler appears in the *Journal of Calendar Reform* (2nd quarter, 1939). It shows the intimate connection between the liturgy and the seasons of the year and urges that for the sake of the

liturgy the calendar be rendered less changeable. Father Luis Rodes, S.J., director of the Ebro Observatory and chairman of the Spanish Calendar Reform Committee, died at Palma, Majorca, early this summer.

The Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has published a valuable pamphlet on *Catholics and the International Labor Organization* by Albert Le Roy, S.J.

Christine Mohrmann contributes an article on the origin and development of Schrijnen's theory of the *Altchristliche Sondersprache* to the July number of *Aevum*. Monsignor Schrijnen began his scientific career with studies on the history of early Christian culture. Father De Ghellinck writes an appreciation of Schrijnen's contribution to the study of Latin in an article "Latin chrétien ou langue latine des premiers chrétiens?" in the July-August number of the *Nouvelle revue théologique*.

Berthold Altaner contributes "Paganus: eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung" to the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (LVIII, 1939, 1-2). He rejects the traditional thesis, apparently proposed for the first time by Baronius, that *paganus* in the sense of villager or rustic gave rise to its meaning as heathen. Accepting the theory of Th. Zahn set down in 1899 he shows that the word was used to mean heathen long before heathenism was confined to the *pagi* and that writers even at the end of the ancient world did not attach the meaning of rustic to pagan. In legal literature *paganus* meant a civilian as distinguished from a soldier. As early as Tertullian Christian writers begin to call one who was not a *miles Christi* a *paganus*.

Another such investigation of interest to students of early church history is Herbert Oppel, **Κανών** (Leipzig, 1937). It studies this important word and the corresponding Latin words *regula* and *norma*.

H. Elfers' volume, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts von Rom* (Paderborn, 1938), assembles documents that must be frequently consulted in questions of early doctrine and liturgy.

The series Vita e Pensiero (Milano) contains a volume on the so-called Ambrosian prefaces: *I prefazi Ambrosiani* by A. Paredi.

In the first issue of *Analecta Bollandiana* for 1939 (LVII, 1-2) Père Delehaye begins a treatment of "Hagiographie Napolitaine." The Bollandists have not written on the important subject of the saints in Naples since 1757. His first article is devoted to a critical study of the calendar on marble found in the church of San Giovanni Maggiore in 1742. The calendar has both Latin and Byzantine elements. It was not a liturgical monument but an effort to honor the saints. Other articles in the same issue are: "De SS. Cyri et Johannis Vitae formis," by Theodorus Nissen; "S. Dometios le martyr et S. Dometios le médecin," by Père Peeters;

"La date de la mort de S. Gerland d'Agrigente," by Lynn T. White; and "Le premier tome du légendier de Saint-Hubert," by Père Coens.

Missiologie: *Etudes, rapports, conférences*, I, by Pierre Charles, S.J. (Desclée, De Brouwer, Paris, 1939) is not an historical work, though the author has turned to history in several chapters for his inspiration. Thus, there are glowing pages on Raymond Lull and a critical appreciation of Chateaubriand, who saw the missions, just as he saw the Middle Ages, through rose-colored glasses. This volume of Father Charles is not a synthesis of missiology (he has written that elsewhere), but a collection of lectures and sermons delivered during the past fifteen years on a great variety of mission subjects. They have a richness of thought and an enthusiasm which makes them delightful reading. Throughout, the author skillfully keeps in unobtrusive evidence the dogmatic principles that must underlie missiology.

In *The Clergy Review* of September J. A. Thoonen offers a ten-page review of recent books on the missions.

Poulet's *Histoire du Christianisme* has reached its 21st fascicle, which deals with the post-Tridentine period.—Albertine's *L'Empire romain* has appeared in a new revised edition.—Victor Martin has published two volumes on *Les origines du gallicanisme*.

B. Landry continues his series "Les idées morales du XII^{e} siècle: Les écrivains en Latin" in the *Revue des cours et conférences*. Section IX, in the issue of June 30th, turns to the vernacular and deals with the romances; section X, in that of July 15th, treats of John of Salisbury; section XI, in that of July 30th, treats of Peter of Blois.

The Abbey of S. Pierre d'Oudenbourg at Steenbrugge-lez-Bruges, Belgium, is publishing a 700-page volume containing the collected articles of Monsignor C. Callewaert on the liturgy. At present these precious articles are scattered through a number of periodicals in several languages. A résumé in Latin will precede articles in modern languages. The volume is to commemorate the golden anniversary of the ordination of the distinguished liturgist. It will appear this autumn in a de luxe edition at 50 belgas and in an ordinary edition at 20 belgas.

The study of Felix Peeters, "Le Culte de Jupiter en Espagne d'après les inscriptions" (*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XVII, 1-2), is based on 144 inscriptions, 32 of which are not found in the *C. I. L.* They date from the second century B. C. to the third century A. D. Thereafter inscriptions cease to be a source for the history of paganism in Spain, though idolatry continued to exist there. With the articles of Heuten, which appeared previously in the same review, Peeter's study forms the best treatment of Jupiter in Spain.

It is gratifying to learn that the national archives at Madrid and both the national and the royal libraries survived the war without losses.

H. Kramm discharges a gigantic task remarkably well in his *Deutsche Bibliotheken unter dem Einfluss von Humanismus und Reformation. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte.* The work appears in a little more than 300 pages as Beiheft 70 of the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen.* It studies the very diversified influence of historical movements in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on libraries; it describes the different kinds of libraries according to their ownership and purpose; it strives to trace the evolution of the idea of the public library. The author displays vast erudition, but—perhaps because of this—he has not succeeded in making the book easy to read.

The first number of the current *Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Vol. III, 1939) contains an exhaustive study on Gottschalk of Aachen by Carl Erdmann and Dietrich v. Gladiss. Gottschalk, for many years a notary and controversialist for the Emperor Henry IV, was the originator of the two sword theory. Edmund E. Stengel discusses the military basis of the mediaeval imperial honor in his "Kaisertitel und Suveränitätsidee: Studien zur Vorgeschichte des modernen Staatsbegriffs", in the same Review. The military factor is also treated from a different point of view by Hans Weirich in "Über das Königslager". Walther Kienast's "Zur Geschichte des Cid" is a critical appreciation of Menéndez Pidal's *La España del Cid.* The extensive review section of the *Archiv* furnishes abundant proof of the continued interest in Germany in mediaeval research. The reader cannot, however, escape the impression that very much contemporary German work is inspired and colored by the political and cultural aims of the Third Reich. Studies in pre-Christian Germany and the clash of *Germanentum* and *Christentum* continue to abound. But current emphasis seems to be placed on the problem of the Eastern frontier, German colonization in the middle ages, the Teutonic Order, and the historical basis of the duel with Poland. It is interesting to note that plans for the partition of Poland began to interest Germans as early as 1386.

Georg Manz edits *Ein St. Galler Sakramentar-Fragment* (Cod. Sangall. No. 350) as Heft 31 of Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen (Aschendorff, Münster i. W., 1939). The fragment, which dates from the eighth or ninth century, forms a supplement to the Frankish Gelasian sacramentary edited by Father Mohlberg in the same series, and must be studied in connection with it. The text reveals many peculiarities of Vulgar Latin. These are discussed in the introduction. In an appendix Mohlberg describes several other sacramentaries.

In May the Abbey of Prinknash began publication of a new liturgical monthly: *The Church and the People.* The review *Pax* has become a quarterly instead of a monthly.

With its July issue *Month* rounds out seventy-five years of existence. The editor contributes several interesting pages in retrospect. "France's Vital Problem" by Francis March is a study—partly historical—of the declining birth-rate in France. James Brodrick writing on "The Martyrs through the Ages" emphasizes the martyrs of Japan. He believes that our day has a claim to be called "The Age of the Martyrs." Archdale A. King writes on the history of "The Immaculate Conception in Seville." Achilles Meersman writes on Father Thomas Fuller, "An English Franciscan in Dutch Guyana, 1683-1686."

In the June number of *History*, Professor A. S. Tuberville writes a critical estimate of three recent works on English constitutional law: vols. 10, 11, and 12 of W. Holdsworth's *A History of English Law;* D. L. Keir's *A Constitutional History of Great Britain:* and vol. 4 of M. A. Thompson's *A Constitutional History of England.* In the same number, J. M. Hussey writes in appreciation of Byzantine Monasticism.

Under the editorship of Alfred O'Rahilly the "University and Labour Series" of booklets emanating from the University of Cork has been resumed. The first three pamphlets of the new series are: *Reform or Revolution?* by James E. O'Mahony, O.M.Cap.; *Modern Democracy* by James Hogan; *Economics and the Worker* by W. Paschal Larkin, O.M.Cap. They consist of public lectures, but they are not without documentation. Their approach is largely historical. Father O'Mahony sounds the keynote of the series in his foreword: "Europe is experimenting with new social structures. These experiments are a challenge to Christian principles. It is our duty to know these principles, to see their far-reaching applications to problems of social and political significance and to work toward their realization in our public lives." The pamphlets are published by Longmans Green and Co. at one shilling each.

The first mention of America in print apparently appeared in Rome. On December 13, 1492, the Milanese envoy Jason de Mayno said in an oration delivered before Pope Alexander VI: "Patria tibi est Hispania: cuius orientale et septentrionale latus Pyrenei montes undequaque includunt. Relique partes usque ad Herculeas Gades et Borealem Oceanum protenduntur." This was the time-honored description of the boundaries of Spain, and the sentence in itself was of no particular importance. While the orator was preparing his manuscript for the press, Columbus returned from his first voyage (March, 1493) and the news of the discovery of America electrified the world. Naturally the Milanese envoy seized the opportunity of flattering the Spanish-born pope still more by adding to the above text: "Quae in eo montium et oceani maris ambitu includuntur quasi alterum orbem facientia ad Hispaniam spectant: cuius latitudo et longitudo tam multa, tam ampla et tam immensa est ut plus habeat admirationis quam credulitatis. Interfluunt quam plures fluvii non solum

navigabiles, sed auriferi, etc." The oration with this reference to the newly discovered continent was printed at Rome by Stephen Plannck, who shortly after printed the first Latin translation of the Letter of Columbus. To all appearance the oration of Mayno antedates even the Spanish editions of Columbus' Letter, so that we have in it the first mention of the New World in print. At any rate the orator magnifying the newly discovered lands into a "quasi alter orbis" came nearer the truth than Columbus himself, who speaks of islands, and never dreamed that he had discovered a new continent.

This year marks two centenaries in the history of American printing. In 1539 the first catechism was printed at Mexico City by Cromberger's journeyman, John Pablos, by order and at the cost of Archbishop John Zumarraga. It is a booklet of twelve pages in quarto. This first catechism is printed in two languages, in Mexican and Spanish, and is now very rare. It is the first book printed in America. During the preceding year, 1538, Pablos issued from 4000 to 5000 so-called *Abecedaria*, i. e. broadsides or single and double sheets containing the Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed, and other short prayers. These firstlings of the American press were likewise printed by order and at the cost of Archbishop Zumarraga to be distributed among the Indian converts. Unfortunately no copy of these abecedaries has come down to us. The printer Pablos arrived in Mexico late in 1537 or at the beginning of 1538 and it took him some time to set up the press. The statement made by various authors that the first book printed in Mexico was a Spanish translation of John Climacus' *Spiritual Ladder*, which is supposed to have issued from the press in 1532 or 1535 or 1536, is an error of long standing. See *C. H. R.*, XVIII (1932), 274-275. At any rate the catechism or *Breve y mas compendiosa doctrina Christiana* of 1539 is the first book printed in America.

In 1639 the first press was set up at Cambridge, Massachusetts, which was to become the proto-typography of the present United States. The first thing printed on this press by its printer, Stephen Daye, in 1639 was "*The Freeman's Oath*", a broadside or single sheet, and the second was "*An Almanac Calculated for New England*" compiled by William Peirce, a mariner. No copy of either edition has ever turned up. In 1640 the so-called *Bay Psalm Book* was issued by Daye, a metrical rendition of the Book of Psalms made by Richard Mather, Thomas Welde, and John Eliot. No more than about nine or ten copies of the original edition are known to exist. This third issue from the first New England press exemplifies the religious character of the colony. Twenty-one years later, in 1661, the first missionary book was printed at Cambridge, Eliot's translation of the Bible into the Indian language.

The Catholic Hessians assisting the British during the Revolutionary War enjoyed the privilege of the ministrations of Catholic chaplains.

What we know about those chaplains is limited to a few data. Martin I. J. Griffin speaks (*Catholics and the American Revolution*, I, 174 sq.) of a certain Father Theobald who is supposed to have been chaplain of the Catholic Hessians. Yet this army chaplain did not serve the Catholic soldiers. On March 26, 1778, chaplain Theobald wrote from New Port, R. I., a letter to his father, the pastor in Doeringen, describing the hardships of the preceding summer. (Learned, *Guide to the MSS. materials relating to American history in German State Archives*, p. 118). According to this letter chaplain Theobald was the son of a Protestant minister in Thuringia and probably a relative of the Officer Theobald who served in the Hesse-Hanau Regiment in 1778 (Learned, p. 258). However, we know that the Ansbach-Bayreuth troop was accompanied by a Catholic chaplain by the name of Francis Piret. He was a Jesuit up to the suppression of the Order and later was incardinated into the diocese of Bamberg. On March 2, 1777, he left with the troop carrying credentials from the archbishop of Cologne and his diocesan bishop (Learned, *op. cit.*, p. 218). Among the Riedesel papers in Braunschweig is preserved a letter written in 1783 by another Catholic chaplain to the Hessians, Father Becker (Learned, p. 250). A search in the various archives will surely furnish additional names of Catholic chaplains among the Hessian troops.

Father Peter Leo Johnson, who is very successfully engaged in resurrecting a knowledge of the "ghost-churches" in the archdiocese of Milwaukee, writes about one of these abandoned parish churches in the July number of *Salesianum*.

Letters in Canada: 1938 edited by A. S. P. Woodhouse (reprinted from *The University of Toronto Quarterly* of this year) contains a considerable amount of historical bibliography.

The June number of *The Canadian Historical Review* contains five articles commemorating the centenary of Lord Durham's Report on British North America.

The following are excerpts from an interesting report sent out by the Works Progress Administration concerning the restoration of historic Puerto Rican landmarks: "Under the auspices of the U. S. Army and the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, Puerto Rico's ancient fortresses and other historic shrines, grim reminders of the romantic days when round shot and shell thundered against the staunch sea wall which once surrounded the city, have been repaired and redecorated. For many of the stone-and-earth structures it is the first repair work in 400 years. Allotments totalling more than $2,000,000 have been granted for the projects by the Works Progress Administration for wages to needy unemployed given work thereby. . . . Army officers and officials of the PRRA were careful to see that little of the natural appearance of the historic forts and shrines was disturbed by the repair work. The great sea wall in some

places reaches 75 feet in height and 30 feet in thickness. Its bastions and embrasures were built for the obvious purpose of withstanding heavy shell fire. . . . The two principal fortresses figuring in the restoration project are "El Morro", built in 1554, located at the very entrance to San Juan harbor, and "San Cristobal", built several years later, rambling but beautiful, located east of "El Morro", within the city of San Juan. . . . One of the oldest religious edifices in the western hemisphere, the Santo Domingo Monastery, has been restored to its original appearance. The roof has been replaced and the graceful arcades, filled with bricks 60 years ago, have been cleared out so that the original design of the building is once again complete."

Documents. Documentos sobre la fundación del Colegio de los Jesuitas en Chihuahua. Leon Barri, Jr. (*Boletin de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de estudios historicos,* July).—Leyes de policia y buen gobierno en 1828. Pedro Hernandez Rodriguez (*Ibid.*).—The Correspondence of Father Christopher Clavius, S.J. Preserved in the Archives of the Pont. Gregorian University [source for the history of science: 1565-1612]. Edward C. Phillips (*Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu,* July).—Die ungedruckte Lebensbeschreibung des Hl. Petrus Canisius von Jakob Keller, S.J. [Complete edition of one of the oldest lives of Peter Canisius]. Friedrich Streicher (*Ibid.*).—"Zur Vorgeschichte der Messe 'Pro propagatione fidei': Eine Bittschrift aus der Sonoramission im Jahre 1707 [Father Adam Gilg, a Jesuit of Bohemian extraction, wrote to Rome asking for the approval of a votive mass and office in 1707. His letter, *supplicatio,* and text for the suggested mass are herewith published]. Walter M. Brüning. (*Ibid*). —The Costanzo Letters [translated into English]. M. G. Chadwick (*Dublin Review,* July).—Nouveaux fragments théologiques de l'école d'Anselme de Laon: Quelques manuscrits anglais. O. Lottin (*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale,* July).—Die Summa Sententiarum und die Summe des Cod. Vat. Lat. 1345. A Landgraf. (*Ibid.*).—André Ferey élu bachelier de Paris au chapitre de la Province de France: Rouen, 1451 [Edition of the document of election followed by a lengthy commentary]. Michel Bihl, O.F.M. (*Archivum Franciscanum historicum,* July).—The Franciscans in the Ancient Burmese Kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, 1557-1818 [with documents in Portuguese]. Achilles Meersman, O.F.M. (*Ibid*). —Tractatus Gerardi de Abbatisvilla "Contra adversarium perfectionis christianae" [Gerard, a champion of the diocesan clergy, writes against the mendicants in the feud at the University of Paris. The edition begun herewith is based on five manuscripts. The introduction contains a careful analysis of the treatise]. Sophronius Clasen, O.F.M. (*Ibid.*).

The centenary of the establishment of the diocese of Natchez (1837) has been ably and permanently commemorated by a volume devoted to the story of *Catholicity in Mississippi,* compiled by the Most Rev. Richard Oliver Gerow, S.T.D., seventh bishop of the diocese (Natchez, 1939, pp.

xvii, 492). The work of preparation of this inspiring record was begun over a decade ago. The chancellor, the Very Rev. Daniel J. O'Beirne, explored old letters and records in the diocesan archives and reduced the contents to card calendars. Then some 50 or 60 papers were prepared on parish histories which were deposited in the archives. Later, these sketches were elaborated for the present purpose. A more satisfactory method of preparation can not be suggested, especially since the data used had foundation in a printed outline of suggestions which is a model of its kind. The volume gives introductory matter touching the beginnings of the Faith in Mississippi and the adjoining section, then biographical sketches of the seven bishops of the diocese, histories of each parish and diocesan institutions, and finally photographs and short accounts of every priest. The book is profusely illustrated and there is an exceptionally good index. A limited edition has been printed but a larger one will be issued for more general distribution.

William A. L. Styles writes of " An Ursuline Tercentenary " in the August number of *Columbia*. The Ursulines arrived at Quebec on August 1, 1639.

The Sophia University in Tokio is observing the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. Under the direction of the Jesuits this relatively small Catholic university of Japan is attempting big things. In 1938 it launched *Monumenta Nipponica, Studies on Japanese Culture, Past and Present*, a learned periodical. A Catholic encyclopaedia in Japanese is being prepared.

BRIEF NOTICES

ANDREWS, GEORGE GORDON. *Napoleon in Review.* With an Introduction by Carl L. Becker, Professor of History in Cornell University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. Pp. xv, 343. $3.00.) The author of the volume under review was at the time of his death in March, 1938 professor of history in the State University of Iowa. The manuscript of the book was prepared for publication with only slight changes by Professors Anderson and Becker of Cornell University. As both the author in his preface (p. xiii) and Professor Becker in the introduction (p. ix) make clear it is not another biography of Bonaparte. It is a series of ten studies on various phases of Napoleon's career which can be read separately. This series includes one on Bonaparte as "Writer of History"; two on "Physical and Personal Qualities" and "Plans and Ambitions"; another on a "Manager of Men", with a final study which is a summary of the evaluations of Napoleon's career by historians running all the way from the work of Chas published in 1801 to the final volume of Kircheisen's monumental biography published in 1934. Two of the most interesting and valuable of the essays are devoted to a critique and description of the letters to the Empress Marie Louise and the *Memoirs of General de Caulaincourt*, the two most important sources on the Emperor which have come to light in recent years.

The work of Professor Andrews is not—as Becker states—an original contribution to knowledge. But it is a book which will prove eminently serviceable to teachers and students of the Napoleonic era. Here in a little over three hundred pages the reader will find not only the judicious estimates of Professor Andrews on Napoleon as a child of the Revolution (p. 118), as a manager of men (p. 217) as a writer of history (pp. 59-60), but he will benefit by the results of the author's generous citations from contemporary and later opinions of him by others which are quoted here. This book given out to a group of college students may prove a decoy into the frozen marshes of primary sources which so many students sedulously avoid as 'dry'.

The volume is provided with worthwhile notes to the exact location of all the sources cited in the text. There is also an adequate index and the reviewer found not a single typographical error which says something for the publishers and proof-readers. Finally is it not interesting to note the preoccupation of men of the stamp of Bonaparte and Hitler for the study of history? Hitler expresses a touching regard for the study of history in *Mein Kampf*, and we learn in Professor Andrews' book that in Bonaparte's youth his greatest desire was to be a "mere historian" (p. 27). The writers and teachers of history may have to answer for more than they contemplate! (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

Anthropological Papers. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution. [Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 123.] Pp. 305. $0.60.) The most important contributions by American scholars to the vast field of aboriginal Indian culture, archaeology, linguistics, religion, etc., are embodied in the annual reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology, published from 1881 to 1933. Forty-seven volumes have been published, the 48th and last (1930-1931) containing a general index to the vast mass of data collected by the numerous contributors to the series.

The Bureau has now begun a new series of *Anthropological Papers*, in more convenient form (the 48 Annual Reports being in octavo). The second of this series contains six papers on six different subjects of North and South American ethnology. The first paper is on, "Archeologic Investigations in the Corozal District of British Honduras". British Honduras is an English crown colony and is remarkable for some ancient Maya ruins and for a large number of pre-historic artifacts pointing to the high culture of the race that has been called "the learned Mayas."

The paper of special interest to historians is No. 9, "Sedelmayr's Relación of 1746, translated and edited by Ronald L. Ives." James Sedelmayr was a Jesuit missionary at Tubutama who labored successfully for the conversion of the Indians. In a brief preface the editor says: "Sedelmayr's Relación of 1746 is a valuable summary of explorations in Pimería from about 1690 to 1746. Its value to the historian is obvious, for, although parts of it have been duplicated by other workers, and much of Sedelmayr's exploration was actually re-exploration, the impressions and observations recorded by Sedelmayr will help to fill the hiatuses in other accounts." (ALBERT MUNTSCH)

AULT, WARREN O. *Europe in the Middle Ages.* Revised Edition. (New York: D. C. Heath and Co. 1937. Pp. vi, 730. $3.50.) The author of this text-book which is intended for high-school use, has added some new chapters and has rewritten others wholly or in part. He has endeavored to incorporate new material of a social and cultural nature. Up-to-date lists of readings, new maps and illustrations have been added.

Since the objectionable features pointed out in a review of the original edition in the pages of this journal (April, 1933—XIX, 78) still remain, this reviewer is still of the opinion that it is not suitable for use in Catholic schools. (FRANCIS A. MULLIN)

BENNETT, H. S. *Life on the English Manor: A Study of Peasant Conditions, 1150-1400.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1937. Pp. xviii, 363. $4.50.) Most people who are interested in medieval history will be very grateful for this work, which is a part of the *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought*, edited by G. G. Coulton, for they will find here solid history on a complex subject written in popular style for the average person. Catholics will be gratified to find that the usual little Coultonic irritants are notably absent, with no resulting harm to history.

The author has aimed to supply information on the economic and social life of the medieval peasant which would be somewhat comparable to what Maitland and Vinogradoff had supplied on his legal status. He admits that

he has failed to give anything of the definite and complete description which the legal historians were able to give, for, the legal history is based on laws and charters and grants, which are usually recorded with care; while the social historian has to gain his information by picking up item after item from widely different and varying sources. But the author has succeeded in bringing a vast number of details together with a skill that has produced a very interesting story.

The book was needed for many reasons. Even the most careful scholar wearies of the cold facts and terms and statistics usually included in manorial history and longs for at least one glance at the complete picture. The author of this work tried to give the whole picture and succeeded well. Nor did he omit the technical details which are peculiar to the story. For his use and explanation of these, many readers, especially those who are not familiar with medieval terminology, will be grateful.

There are chapters on the Church, the manor with its population, the rents and services and burdens, the manor court, the games and amusements, the trials and sorrows of peasant life. The chapters on the relation of the Church to the peasants and on the "Road to Freedom" are particularly informative. There is a prologue giving one delightfully imaginative picture of life on the manor.

Probably the most serious fault in the book is the attempt to cover too great a period of time. Conditions on any particular manor, or in manorial life in general, changed quite definitely in the course of two and a half centuries. The span of one century would probably have yielded the same results and would probably have given a greater assurance of good sound history. (FRANCIS A. MULLIN)

BOTSFORD, GEORGE WILLIS. *Hellenic History.* Revised and rewritten by Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., Associate Professor of Greek and Latin Classics, Brown University. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xiv, 398. $4.50.) Those who are acquainted with the 1922 edition of Botsford's *Hellenic History* will already have a fair knowledge of the new text. No basic changes have been made. A few chapters are entirely new, but more than two-thirds of the material is substantially the same, and in many cases the identical wording of the original has been retained. Botsford's history has been a standard in American colleges for almost twenty years, and despite certain drawbacks, it still remains a scholarly and trustworthy guide for the assistance of advanced students. Two of the greatest weaknesses have been rectified in the new edition, namely a rather dry and labored presentation of material, and the lack of any real information on the Hellenistic period. On the other hand some will regret the absence of certain characteristics which made up the backbone of the former volume. The heavy-type paragraph headings, for example, which so helped to mark the trail in the old volume, have disappeared altogether in the new book. The rather frequent quotations from original sources are now no more, while the complete removal of all footnotes is most unfortunate; for although undergraduate students do not generally use this material, good scholarship still requires a citation of the sources.

Perhaps the best feature of the new edition is the rearrangement of the subject matter. The social, constitutional, and artistic phases of Greek history, so essential to an understanding of Hellenic life, are very cleverly woven in without breaking the continuity of the book's theme. To accomplish this a number of changes have been employed. The discussion of the Periclean age in the revision now follows the chapter on the Peloponnesian War, which preserves the unity of the book, that was badly broken at this place in the old edition by a discussion of the thought and culture in the age of Pericles. A new chapter on the Geometric period now bridges the gap between the Bronze age and historic Greece, and the difficult period between the Persian invasions and the Peloponnesian War has been worked up into a more readable account of the Delian League and the growth of the Athenian Empire.

Unfortunately it sometimes seems that true scholarship has been sacrificed to the interests of oratory and smooth diction, a good illustration of which appears on page 253, at the end of the chapter on Alexander, who is eulogized there as follows: "Alexander was brought to the four corners of the earth and to the heavens. The early Christians portrayed Jesus in his likeness, the Jews regarded him as a propagandist of the Most High, and the Mohammedans worshipped him as Dulcarnian, the Lord of the Two Horns." Such attempts to outdo Gibbon can never meet with the approval of present-day criticism.

There are seventeen maps in the revisions in all, and some are extremely well executed. The restored plan of the Athenian Agora facing page 186 is something new, and the large map on Greek colonization facing page 52 is clearly and beautifully done. The glazed and weighted paper which was so trying to the eyes has given place to a soft tinted material printed in clearcut type. The size of the volume has been slightly increased so that it appears like an old friend in new clothes, freshly washed and sweetened, but characteristically unchanged. (LEIGHTON B. BROWN)

BUISSON, P. PACIFIQUE, O.M.Cap. *Leçons grammaticales théoriques et pratiques de la langue micmaque.* (Ristigouche, P. Q., Canada: [Annales de l'Association canadienne-française pour l'avancement des sciences, IV, 1938, V 1939.]) Father Pacifique, the modern patriarch of the Micmacs of eastern Canada the last forty-four years, has published the first complete and definite grammar of the language which has been preserved by the Indians for more than three centuries amidst French and English environment. The Abbé Peter Maillard who died in 1762 wrote the first and incomplete grammar which was printed in a defective form by John Gilmary Shea at New York in 1864. The various later attempts at writing the grammar of the Micmac language are all based on Maillard's work. Father Pacifique has been working at the present grammar for wellnigh forty years correcting and supplementing the labors of his predecessors. In the preface and appendix he passes in review all those older linguistic works both in manuscript and print. When his grammar was in the press, he had the good fortune to consult the manuscript grammar of the Baptist missionary, Silas Tertius Rand, which is preserved in Wellesley College. A long list of books issued in Micmac by Father Pacifique and a monthly publication in the same Indian language

have preceded this linguistic study. Besides Father Pacifique issued in 1935 a collection of his *Études historiques et geographiques* which have all some bearing on the history and geography of the Micmac tribe. (JOHN M. LENHART)

CARLEN, SISTER M. CLAUDIA, I.H.M. *A Guide to the Encyclicals of the Roman Pontiffs from Leo XIII to the Present Day, 1878-1937.* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co. 1939. Pp. 243. $2.00.) If the author of this *Guide* included in it only the usual information to be looked for in a work of the kind, she would have rendered a very valuable service in the bibliographical field. But she has incorporated so much additional material as to make the work serve as a very handy and useful introduction to the best known and most used writings of the popes. Not satisfied with the usual page and paragraph, she has anticipated the questions which often arise in the minds of those who use the encyclicals and who have neither the time nor the ready means to look elsewhere for very valuable information.

The *Guide* is indispensable for those who are seriously interested in the religious, social, political, economic or philosophical problems of the day. Catholics who want timely and accurate information for themselves or others must frequently consult the recent pronouncements of the popes; nor will any earnest non-Catholic be satisfied with less than the texts of the various letters. But the texts, which appear to be common enough at one moment, seem to be very elusive the next. The first service of the author has been to bring the texts out of their frequent obscurity by locating them, often in several places close at hand.

The general collections of the encyclicals of the last four popes are listed in one chapter, and this is followed by a list of the individual encyclicals arranged in chronological order to the number of one-hundred and forty-four. Each encyclical is entered under the Latin title with the date and an English title added. The texts are next listed: Latin, English, French, German, Spanish, Italian; under each of these languages are given the specific references locating the text. Summaries, extracts, and commentaries, each with proper references, are added. For cross-references, as well as for original location, there is a chronological index, a Latin title index and a subject index. There is also an excellent preface which contains very useful information.

Although bibliographies of this type usually bristle with shortcomings, only two were noticed by the present reviewer: one is the omission of texts in some one or other of the Slavic languages; the second is that in the case where an encyclical is addressed to a particular nation, or a considerable group thereof, not enough references are given in the commentaries which would reflect the reactions in that nation. An instance in point is the encyclical of Leo XIII on the laws affecting the Church in Germany (No. 19), where there is no commentary from a German source.

Both author and publisher are to be highly commended on the appearance and the accuracy of the work; one searches in vain for the typographical errors usually to be found in abundance in bibliographies. The work might be cited as an example of the exactness which can be attained by this type of publishing. (FRANCIS A. MULLIN)

CUDDIHY, ROBERT J. and SHUSTER, GEORGE N., Editors. *Pope Pius XI and American Public Opinion.* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co. 1939. Pp. xi, 224. $1.50.) This is a cabinet file in book form. The documents in the case are citations from newspapers; excerpts, in large measure, from the editorial page; reported pronouncements of qualified critics. They are estimates of the work and the character of the late Pope, and bear date, for the most part, February 10-11, 1939.

The aspects that loom large and naturally in the career of this Pontiff are peace, religious welfare, social progress, moral authority, Pius as man; and under phases of this general division these quotations are grouped. They may well represent the opinion of the country: geographically they are from every quarter; politically, of every shade; intellectually, the rural sheet and the metropolitan daily, university and college presidents, statesmen, labor leaders, spokesmen for Jew, Protestant and Catholic make contribution to this symposium of evaluation and praise.

What focuses attention as one reads these varied appraisals is the sense of a moral force at work in the world. This is the more remarkable because it is experienced among a people who are publicized as materialists whose god is machinery and money. Recognition of a spiritual force that works for individual and humanity, for the right conduct of nations no less than individuals, that champions principle against force, and seeks to infuse Christian thought into the reckonings of today is a bright spot amid the moral sordidness of the age, and a token of hope for the solution of our complicated problems, social and ethical. It remains to concretize this sentiment by according to the Papacy a place at the council-table when nations meet, when labor and capital air their grievances, with the public sitting in to discuss the general welfare.

These collected tributes to the memory of a great Pope rise beyond the purview of the personal, and implicate the high office he held for seventeen years. They record a general feeling that Pius XI has deserved well of humanity, has courageously faced the problems of his position, and has enhanced the glory of the finest aspects of the Papacy.

A summary account of Pius' career serves as Introductory, and Special Tributes from three faiths open and close this compilation. (JOHN J. JEPSON)

DINNEEN, JOSEPH F. *Pius XII Pope of Peace.* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co. 1939. Pp. viii, 281. $2.50.) Done by a journalist, this book manifests both the good and the bad qualities that usually characterize such publications. The story reads easily, but the writer's flair for the dramatic impels him to weave in details now and then that jar the logical sequence. Emphasis throughout is placed upon the diplomatic activities of the Vatican. Against this background Eugenio Pacelli is ushered through the pages from his birth to his election and coronation as the "Pope of Peace". Since this side of papal activities is not often popularly presented, the book should make interesting and informative reading for the average individual. Some very careless proof-reading, however, will confuse the uninformed at times.

More seriously confusing are misstatements resulting from what might best be designated as guess-work. On page 12 we read of "the revival of the

medieval idea in totalitarian states that citizens belonged to the state"—a very unique interpretation, indeed, of medieval political theory. Accuracy is sacrificed to brevity in the treatment of the Vatican's peace effort in 1917. The uninformed reader will be left with the impression that Bethmann-Hollweg nullified Nuncio Pacelli's work (p. 76), whereas Chancellor Michaelis was the one responsible for the unhappy results. What, too, can be the meaning of the statement (p. 93) that Cardinal Gasparri was Secretary of State under two popes which was "the first time that such a thing had happened since Hildebrand, under the reign of Pope Gregory VII?" While it would, no doubt, have been more honest for its supporters to identify the A. P. A. movement of the late nineteenth century as the "American *Protestant* Association" (p. 138), they preferred *de facto* to hide both their identity and their purpose under the more euphemistic title of the American Protective Association. It will also occur to the reader that the late Ku Klux Klan was something decidedly more objectionable than "merely organized bad manners among non-Catholics" (p. 139). If the reader is on his guard against such errors and misinformation the book will be well worth the reading for the Catholic and the non-Catholic alike. (CHARLES E. SCHRADER)

DONALDSON, MAC. H. *Labor Problems in the United States.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1939. Pp. x, 289. $1.00.) This text-book is a volume in the American Business Fundamentals Series published by Longmans, Green & Company under the editorship of J. L. Moore. The author is M. H. Donaldson of Boston University. The series is designed to present to adults and students the "distilled essence" of the subjects discussed rather than a deep fund of knowledge.

Mr. Donaldson has satisfied completely the purposes set by the editor in so far as clarity and succinctness are the criteria. Wages, hours, working conditions, structure and function of labor organizations, the relations of government to labor, women and children in industry, casual laborers and personnel problems are all mentioned in the two-hundred-odd pages. In the appendices are some excellent statistical tables for easy reference. Questions and problems for each chapter are indications of pedagogical thoroughness. Far from the least worthy characteristic of the book is an unusually complete index in which some of the jargon common to labor circles is found.

On the other hand this text has some deficiencies which can be attributed only to the author's attempt to write too concisely. The result is a capsule-like treatment and over-simplification which will be unsatisfactory to the college student and the general reader. Specifically, the discussion of the problem of income distribution in two small paragraphs buried in a chapter on management and personnel problems cannot be excused on the grounds that all non-essentials were eliminated. Nor can a presentation of wages, hours, and working conditions be treated adequately in fifteen pages for any kind of student. A description of employers' organizations in less than fifty lines is niggardly treatment.

There is also room for improvement in arrangement of the chapters. The problems of casual laborers as well as those of women and children in industry should not have been tacked on at the end of the book. Such matters belong with wages, hours, etc.

The reviewer cannot but believe that the author would have accomplished much more if he had not adhered so rigorously to the objectives set for the series concerning perspective rather than depth. (GEORGE T. BROWN)

FINK, LEO GREGORY. *Graduate Nurses: A Symposium of Ethical Inspiration.* (New York: Paulist Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 306.) To an increasing extent graduate nurses are confronted with situations involving ethical principles. It is encouraging to find such men as Leo Gregory Fink and his collaborators giving their time and learning to make available the information of this symposium. The approach indicates that the authors are sympathetic to and possess a true understanding of the nurse's position in such matters. This is to be appreciated in view of the tendency in other writings to give only very general treatment of ethical subjects.

Some of the material would be of more value if it could be brought up-to-date, e.g., Father Bourke's article on "Some Medical Ethical Problems Solved" should be revised to include "Ethics of Ectopic Operations", by T. Lincoln Bouscaren, S.J., published in 1933. The chapter on "Artificial Birth Control" is timely. Catholic nurses, especially those in public health nursing, are placed in positions where they need to be well informed regarding this whole problem. It is to be regretted that any teaching of the Church which may be used by one coming in daily contact with the increasing instruction on birth control given in clinics conducted by various agencies, could not have as complete as possible treatment of this subject. Catholic influences upon Florence Nightingale and the chronological survey of women nurses in history are of inspirational and instructional value. Complete bibliographical references would add to the value of all the material. More literature of this type is needed. The chapters which are ethical in content could well be expanded into books on the particular subjects. Graduate nurses will find in this book much authoritative information so often difficult to secure. (SISTER M. OLIVIA)

FISHER, H. A. L. *A History of Europe.* Revised and enlarged Edition. (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co. 1939. Pp. xiv, 1306. $5.00.) We must be grateful to the publishers for having made accessible to a wider public, in one volume and at half the former price, H. A. L. Fisher's valuable *History of Europe*, first published in three volumes, in 1935. The work of the well-qualified author, formerly member of Parliament, president of the British Academy and British delegate to the League of Nations, is a masterpiece of classical historiography which combines thorough erudition with rich political and diplomatic experience and exquisite diction. Since it depends chiefly on secondary sources, as any comprehensive work covering so large a field—more than 5000 years—must be, it contains nothing quite new. Its main features are the striking and ingenious syntheses with which it abounds.

Many of the author's statements are open to argument or even provoke contradiction. His theory on the origins of Christianity is that of liberal Protestant theology. Chapter XXV, "The Catholic Mind", has induced a Catholic friend of the author, eminent in Thomist studies, to write a critical comment, which the author himself most generously published as an appendix to the first part of his work. The author finds Gregory VII's "theocratic

philosophy as menacing to the nascent state life of the eleventh century as in our own times is the communism of Lenin to the capitalism of Wall Street" (p. 204). He speaks of "indulgences for the remittance of sins of every kind" (p. 510). The German National Liberal Party of Bismarck's time is blamed for having proved itself devoid of true liberalism by consenting to the Chancellor's harsh legislation against the Socialists, while the support it gave to the Government "in its struggle with the Clericals (Kulturkampf)" (p. 1084) seems to meet with the author's approval. Catholic readers, therefore, will do well to examine the author's statements with a critical mind.

The work has been extolled by critics on both sides of the Atlantic, and it certainly deserves a full measure of praise; but whether the prediction of one of its British admirers that it "will become for this generation what Gibbon was for our forefathers" will prove true, we must leave to the future to decide. (HENRY J. BRUEHL)

FLACHÈRE, R. P. A. *Sous la menace des idoles.* (Paris: Plon. 1938. Pp. iii, 305.) An exciting book on the missions is a novelty; yet Father Flachère has written up his fourteen years in China in a style so vivid, so absorbing, that his work deserves all the favorable notice that might be given it. Abstracting even from its value to Catholics, it surpasses as entertaining reading the writings of many of our popular authors, whose very means of livelihood is descriptive analysis.

Father Flachère has an unusual ability to give us insight into the daily life of the Chinese and the problem of the Europeans among them. He uses every device known to the professional writer for maintaining interest. Every chapter plunges into the thick of an incident—a piquant conversation—and the author had many of them. He is so adept at maintaining suspense that we, frankly, found it difficult to lay the work aside once we had started.

This brilliant missionary lived in China from 1910 until 1924. During that time he saw the slow upheaval of Communism—the backwash of the Great War—and the final overthrow of the old Celestial Empire. Exciting times indeed!—and *Sous la menace des idoles* presents the testimony of an eyewitness.

More than that, Father Flachère's personal vicissitudes rivaled those of the heroic missioners, St. Paul and St. Francis. He was beset by bandits; his neophytes, his confrères, were kidnapped and tortured almost under his very eyes; he had to journey hundreds of miles for a major operation, and was shipwrecked on the return voyage. His varied experience included some months as procurator of his diocese and chaplain of a large Catholic hospital in Tchentou. Here we are at his elbow as he moves up and down between the rows of beds,—baptizing, confessing, anointing.

But perhaps it is because Father Flachère is so human that his work is appealing. He is deeply spiritual; but with that he keeps the healthy curiosity of the westerner in oriental institutions. We have an idea somehow that he really enjoyed dinner with the mandarin that evening, with its bizarre menu and the even more bizarre singing afterward. And, without being maudlin, he made us sense the desolation of the missionary whose last word concerning his mother takes the form of a telegram telling him that she passed away prematurely but at peace with God.

Technically the work is a masterpiece. Its author has an unusually wide vocabulary and, underlying it, a basic vitality which drives his story along without pause from start to finish. Copious illustrations are supplied to help the reader see for himself the scene in which the action is set. A translation of this book would make a real contribution to Catholic English letters. (Louis A. Arand)

Forman, Henry Chandlee. *Jamestown and St. Mary's. Buried Cities of Romance.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. xvii, 355. $4.50.) In an excellent blending of architectural skill and archaeological imagination, Mr. Forman has given us a most valuable reconstruction of those two ancient cities which were the earliest capitals of the American South. In a striking phrase, he reminds us that Jamestown and St. Mary's, within a scant seventy miles of each other, are "the two most romantic buried towns in the New World". With a hundred references, he links together the forgotten capitals of Maryland and Virginia, and for this bond alone the historian would be thankful to him. But Mr. Forman has done more than that. His book supplies a need long felt for a systematic, thorough examination of the existing relics of the two towns. At the height of their prosperity, neither town contained more than sixty buildings. He notes that all that remained of the old Jamestown was a ruined brick church tower, and of St. Mary's only two brick-and-frame houses and an outbuilding. All the rest had fallen to neglect, fire, and deliberate destruction, and at St. Mary's only meadow lands and planted tobacco and wheat fields existed where the city of the Calverts had once stood.

Mr. Forman, an architect by profession, was chief of the Jamestown Archaeological Project of the Department of the Interior, and thus connected with the plan to reconstruct the ancient capital of Virginia. What he has written in this book is the result of his findings, and a fascinating tale it is. Particularly enlightening and welcome is his study of the bricks used in the foundations of St. Mary's, since the foundations are all that remain of the former buildings. He has not, of course, been able to give us a complete picture of what the ancient Maryland city looked like, but he has been able to revise completely the map of the St. Mary's of the 1630's. (Incidentally, two end papers contain charming reconstructed maps of the two cities.) When one considers the scantiness of the materials, Mr. Forman has shown great ingenuity in his reconstructions. Probably the most novel feature of the St. Mary's discussion is his revision of the map for that city. The chain of argument by which he completely revises the speculations of J. W. Thomas in his *Chronicles of Early Maryland* is especially sound (p. 209, n. 41). Thomas's estimates had been largely adopted by Hughes in his *History of the Society of Jesus*, and had been followed in previous reconstructions of the ancient capital. Forman's map will hereafter become the standard for St. Mary's.

In a book of such excellence, there are remarkably few blemishes. The author betrays a certain unfamiliarity with the Jesuits, particularly with the question of the manner of the descent of the Jesuit property. The use of "Mr." Copley, "Mr." Poulton, etc., for "Father", common in those days,

is likely to confuse the reader, though Mr. Forman himself is quite aware of their identity. He does not, however, show an acquaintance with Father Hughes' four volumes, above cited, in which this whole matter is traced. "The Archives of Jesus" (Index and p. 14n.) should, of course, be *Archives of the Gesù*. Also, the proper spelling is St. Inigoes, not St. Inigoe's or St. Inigoe. Indeed, the old English form for St. Mary's is St. Maries. These, however, are slight faults in a work of such excellent character. Mr. Forman has laid us all under a great debt for a most valuable work. Besides the interesting end papers, the work is embellished with many plans, drawings, photographs and incidental maps, besides an excellent index. (WILFRID PARSONS)

HAYES, CARLTON J. H. *A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe.* Volume 2 (Shorter Revised). (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. x, 865. $4.00.) This new edition of the second volume of Hayes' famous textbook, which is commonly looked upon as the best general introduction to Modern European history in this country, brings the story up to April, 1939. Optimistically the author concludes with the expression of unfaltering belief in the "enlightened progress" of humanity. Some less correct statements occur. It is misleading to call the candidate for the Spanish crown in 1870, Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a Prussian prince (p. 146). Leopold, husband of Princess Antonia of Portugal, was a scion of the Elder (Swabian) Catholic line of the Hohenzollern family. At most, he was a very distant kinsman of the King of Prussia, but no cousin (p. 147). On the other hand through his grandmother, Stephanie de Beauharnais, sister of Eugénie Hortense de Beauharnais, mother of Napoleon III, he was a pretty near relative of the Emperor of the French. It is not correct to say that through a concordat Pope Pius XI agreed to the dissolution of the "Catholic" Centre party (p. 723). The German Centre party voluntarily dissolved on July 5, 1933, five days before the negotiations concerning the Reich Concordat were initiated. Moreover in a work in which laudably such emphasis is given to the modern fine arts such important painters as Menzel, Boecklin, and Liebermann should at least be mentioned. In spite of these minor defects, which can easily be eliminated from a future edition, the book deserves to be highly recommended for a survey course in Modern European history, and where it is not used as basic text for the class room it should hold an important place in lists of additional reading. (HENRY J. BRUEHL)

HIGGINS, E. L. *The French Revolution as Told by Contemporaries.* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1939. Pp. x, 462. $3.50.) "The object of this volume is to present the French Revolution through the medium of contemporaries and as a connected narrative" (p. vii). That object, as stated by Mr. Higgins, has been well attained. This volume will have an immediate appeal for all those engaged in studying the French Revolution either professionally in the classroom or for the purpose of general reading in that great movement. There has been no scarcity of source books on the Revolution, but not before the publication of this volume

have students had the chance to read its progress through the accounts of eye witnesses in—to use the expression of the editor—"a connected narrative."

How often the beginner is puzzled at the galaxy of names he meets in his reading in revolutionary literature. The work under review gives to the student a first-hand acquaintance with most of the leading figures of the Revolution through their own words, generous citations from their works and correspondence wherein they express their particular points of view on the great issues before France in those hectic days. This is indeed making history live. The reader hears Mirabeau thundering before the Assembly on the king's right to the veto power (p. 118); he follows with interest the gossipy details of the Comtesse de La Motte on the affair of the necklace of Cardinal de Rohan (pp. 56-57); he watches the gathering storm between Robespierre and Danton and the latter's death—this through the eyes of the sly old fox, Barras (pp. 338-342). Thus could the reviewer go on citing instances of piquant details which enfold in this volume.

Mr. Higgins has added an appendix which includes the texts of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the Constitutions of 1791 and of 1793, the Constitutional Act of the Republic, and a most useful concordance of dates running from the 1st Vendémiaire of the Year I (September 22nd, 1792) to the 5th Sans-culottide of the Year IV (September 21st, 1795). Another very valuable feature of the book is the bibliography which is more than a list of titles. Mr. Higgins gives brief identifying notes on the authors of the various memoirs, correspondence, and journals. This will prove of great use to the student anxious to have at least the minimum information on the authors whose words he reads in the body of the work.

The book, done under general editorship of Professor William L. Langer of Harvard University is a credit to both men, and this reviewer hopes that it may be only the first of a series of such volumes which will take the outstanding movements of modern times in like fashion. Why could the same thing not be done for example, for the period of the Renaissance, the Religious Revolution of the 16th century, and the Industrial Revolution? Let us hope that the success which the present work merits may attend it and lend encouragement to the furtherance of such an enterprise. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

HITLER, ADOLF. *Mein Kampf.* Complete and Unabridged Edition. (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock. 1939. Pp. xxxviii, 1003. $3.00.) The present edition of the most-talked-of book of our day comes to us under good auspices. It will prove reassuring to serious students of contemporary history to learn that the volume has been brought out in English dress under the direction of an editorial committee of ten prominent names which number among them outstanding historians such as Professors Sidney B. Fay and William L. Langer of Harvard University and Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia University. These editorial sponsors say in their introduction: "...*Mein Kampf* is a propagandistic essay by a violent partisan. As such it often warps historical truth and sometimes ignores it completely. We have, therefore, felt it our duty to accompany the text with factual information which constitutes an extensive critique of the original" (p. ix). They have done

their task well as the long note 11, pp. 145-148, on Hitler's personal religious views will illustrate.

The present edition contains material which about doubles that contained in the first English edition of E. T. S. Dugdale published in 1933 under the title, *My Battle*. All the important passages either omitted or abridged in the Dugdale volume are here indicated by proper symbols. The translation was done under the direction of Dr. Alvin Johnson of the New School for Social Research.

The general public, to say nothing of the world of scholarship, is well aware of much that is contained in *Mein Kampf*. Discussion of the iniquities of the Jews naturally fill many pages, as also the appeals to race purity, the German folkish state, etc. Readers of this journal will be interested to learn that the author adduces as one of the first evidences he witnessed of the Catholic clergy abusing their power over the masses as that of the Czech priests zealously cultivating Czech ideals within German regions in the old Hapsburg Empire, and the simultaneous failure of the German priests to push strongly national German interests against these enemies of German *Kultur* (pp. 139-140). Hitler enveighs likewise against the aristocratic element that ruled Germany before the World War and who were so out of touch with the people. The remedy for this he said—he was writing in 1923—was to use the example of the celibacy of the Catholic clergy, namely renew the future generations of rulers from the people, not from a narrow caste. Clerical celibacy to Hitler accounted for the vitality of the Catholic Church. "It is the origin of the incredibly vigorous power that inhabits this age-old institution" (p. 644). In the days of his authorship Hitler was still attempting to woo both Catholics and Protestants in Germany, and when quarrels—aggravated by Ludendorff's bitter sallies—broke out between the two groups, Hitler saw the Jew as responsible for raising the spectre of ultramontanism so as to distract attention from himself (p. 825).

Space forbids any attempt at an orderly presentation of Hitler's views on religion or any other subject as contained in this book, even if one had time to try to make some logical arrangement of the man's thoughts, scattered as they are in patches throughout almost a thousand pages. However, one further point is worth noting. *Der Führer* has much to say of history. As a boy in school it was his "favorite subject" (p. 20). He passes judgment on teachers of history as follows:

> Few teachers realize that the aim of history lessons should not consist in the memorizing and rattling forth of historical facts and data; that it does not matter whether a boy knows when this or that battle was fought, when a certain military leader was born, or when some monarch (in most cases a very mediocre one) was crowned with the crown of his ancestors. Good God, these things do not matter.
>
> To "learn" history means to search for and to find the forces which cause those effects which we later face as historical events (p. 18).

He goes on to say: "It was perhaps decisive for my entire future life that I was fortunate enough to have a history teacher who was one of the few who understood how essential it was to make this the dominating factor in his lessons" (p. 19). What a grave responsibility sits upon the head of

Professor Ludwig Poetsch of the Linz Realschule! Again and again throughout the volume appeal is made to history and its lessons (pp. 23, 152, 629-630, 829-830). He does not fail to give his instructions as to how history should be taught and the purpose for which it is to be studied (pp. 628-630). "One does not learn history merely in order to know what has been, but one learns history in order to make it a teacher for the future and for the continued existence of one's own nationality. This is the *end*, and the history lessons are only a *means* to it" (p. 629). In this as in so many other parts of his program Hitler has been quite consistent as the present plight of German historical scholarship will eloquently attest. The volume has an index which might well be more complete. Finally it should be mentioned that the proceeds from the sale of this book are to be given over to the fund for refugees from Hitler's distracted land. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

HOCKETT, HOMER C. *The Constitutional History of the United States 1776-1826.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xiv, 417. $3.00.)

BEARD, CHARLES A. *American Government and Politics.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. viii, 814. $3.15.)

The preface to Professor Hockett's book announces that the present volume is the first in a series each of which will deal with fifty years of our constitutional history. The series is designed both to present a readable account of our constitutional history and to suggest a certain interpretation of that history. Professor Hockett admits at the outset that there is a moral to his story: "It is that the freedom which independence brought to Americans . . . was only an opportunity . . . to work out their own salvation under the obligation to regard the general welfare, and that the blessings of liberty are to be gained and preserved only through incessant pains and vigilance" (pp. viii-ix). Liberty is no more easily preserved than it is won. The first fifty years of our constitutional history were years of shaping diverse and even contrary forces—social, economic, intellectual, religious—into a workable political system. Prior to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789 the fundamental issues were formulated in terms of a general political philosophy—that of Locke particularly—though of course the structural devices for the protection of rights were constantly under consideration in the colonies. The period following the adoption of the Constitution was quite naturally marked by increasing clarification of the constitutional document. The "blessings of liberty" were now guaranteed by written word, and to that extent philosophical consideration of right and freedom was determined by positive law. Early in our history the doctrines of judicial review and of Federal paramountcy solved in a practical way the problem concerning the keeper of our liberties; in a truer sense, as Professor Hockett points out, our liberties are kept by ourselves, "through incessant pains and vigilance".

At the present, when liberty of the person is so effectively challenged abroad, it is imperative that we do some basic thinking concerning the notion of liberty. A book on constitutional history is not the place for this kind of analysis, but it is a bit discouraging to find Professor Hockett discountenancing any notion of natural right and affirming (as in effect all tyrannies do affirm) that rights are a purely social creation. It does not follow that be-

cause Locke's theory of natural law is erroneous the very notion itself of natural law is a false one. Professor Hockett's misunderstanding becomes clear when he mentions "no taxation without representation" as having been at one time regarded as a natural right. That this principle was ever regarded as a natural right was due to the error of the compact philosophy and its false notions of natural law.

The eighth edition of Professor Beard's *American Government in Politics* maintains the traditional excellence of this book as a standard text in elementary political science. The first portion of the book deals with the federal government and the second portion deals with state and local government. The structural and dynamic elements of government are treated in realistic but nonetheless analytical fashion. The text reflects, in almost every special topic examined, the enormously critical events of the last decade as they have affected both the theory and practise of American government. The student of Professor Beard's book becomes aware of the fact that the federal structure while remaining quite intact has in the last decade been charged with a new life. The text has a vital and stimulating quality that recommends it as a valuable asset in the class-room presentation of American Government and Politics. (CHARLES N. R. MCCOY)

HOUSSE, R. P. ÉMILE. *Une épopée indienne. Les Araucans du Chile.* (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1939. Pp. 310.) The author, Father Émile Housse, is a Redemptorist missionary who has lived thirty-four years in Chile, nine of which he spent among the native Mapuche or Araucanians, about whom he writes in the present volume. The use of native terms and texts throughout the book suggests that the author has a good knowledge of the native language.

The work is divided into six books which are further subdivided into chapters. The first book, "Histoire de la Race", deals with the origin of the aborigines of Chile, their tribal organization, certain characteristics, and particularly their warlike customs. The account thereof agrees with that left us by the Spanish chroniclers. Apart, however, from Molina, a comparatively late writer on the area, they are not specifically cited. The same is true of the second book, "L'épopée héroïque", which deals briefly with the vigorous resistance of the Mapuche to the Spanish invasion from 1548 to 1810.

The next three books, "Croyances Religieuses", "La vie araucanienne", and the "La famille araucanienne", compose the main body of the work. These sections are based primarily on the author's own observations, with some reliance on Molina for the early material. The treatment of the aboriginal religious, material, and political cultures of the Mapuche is very thorough. It could have been more complete if the author had consulted the early sources more extensively, but this was evidently not within the scope of his first-hand presentation.

In general, the presentation is popular, rather than technical, and does not purport to be a comprehensive study of Araucanian history and culture. But for the field the author does cover, the data appear very accurate and scientifically dependable, to judge from our extant sources on the Araucanians, and constitute a very real and valuable contribution to Araucanian ethnology. (ANTONIO M. SANTA CRUZ)

HULL, WILLIAM I. *William Penn, A Topical Biography.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xvi, 362. $5.00.) The subtitle of this volume might well be, "The Quaker", for William Penn's religious beliefs permeate almost every page. Since they dominated the greater part of his life the book is none the less a true biography. Documentation is ample and quotations from Penn's letters and writings are, if anything, too numerous, for the pages are at times extremely heavy. The book will delight the scholar but prove quite a task for an ordinary reader.

Of particular interest is the account of Penn's relations with the Catholic Duke of York who afterward became James II of England. In him Penn found a great friend who was in no small way responsible for the granting of the Pennsylvania charter, and a kindred spirit in the advancement of religious toleration. The author treats this phase of Penn's life in a very sympathetic manner and with no apparent prejudice. He likewise records the fact that Penn's Catholic friends were most desirable neighbors in the new world. "A Catholic proprietor Lord Baltimore ruled to the south; another Catholic proprietor, Penn's warm friend, the Duke of York, ruled to the north; and both of these welcomed the Quaker idea of toleration." In a volume published for American readers and written by a resident of the state of Pennsylvania a more detailed account of Penn's life in his colony might be expected.

An appendix contains a chronology of Penn's life, Webb's story of Guilema Penn's portrait, the Penn family tree of his descendants, a list of books and manuscripts cited in the book, and an extensive index. Fourteen illustrations intersperse the pages, all of an excellent character. (HAROLD E. KELLER)

KÄPPELI, TH., O.P. *Le Procès contre Thomas Waleys, O.P.* (Roma: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1936. Pp. 253.) Well known to historians and to theologians is the controversy provoked by Pope John XXII concerning the beatific vision; not well known is the part played in this dispute by the English Dominican, Thomas Waleys. In this book Th. Käppeli, O.P., studies the process against Waleys from the unpublished documents in the Cambridge University Library. From these documents we learn that the English Dominican had inveighed against the extreme Franciscan notion of Christ's poverty, which at that time was causing heated discussions, and thereby he incurred the enmity of many Franciscans. Hence, in those days of bitter dispute about the beatific vision it is not strange that when Waleys preached about the kindred subjects of the resurrection of the body and of the last judgment, he was accused of heresy by the inquisitor at Avignon, Guillelmus de Monte Rotundo, a Franciscan and an ardent supporter of the Pope. After imprisonment by the inquisitor in a Franciscan convent, Waleys appealed to the Pope and was transferred to the papal gaol. Then he was tried by a commission of cardinals; but whether there was any final decision on his case is not certain. In fact, it seems that he was neither condemned as a heretic nor released but confined to prison for the remainder of his life.

In the second part of this book Käppeli edits and publishes the various documents concerning Waleys, not only the original sermon for which he was imprisoned but also his other writings, the acts of the inquisition, the acts of

the commission of cardinals and the *Libellus famosus*, an anonymous tract against Waleys. This book will be indispensable for those studying the life of John XXII and his strange opinion on the beatific vision. It will also interest those who study the inquisition because it illustrates the fact that occasionally the inquisitors observed the letter of the law while violating its spirit. This is an excellent example of Dominican scholarship, is well printed and has two satisfactory indexes. (HARRY C. KOENIG)

KELLY, R. S. *Ireland's Bloodless Revolution.* (Chicago: Joyce & Smith. 1936. Pp. x, 220.) In eight tightly-written chapters the author tells the story of the heroic revolution the people of Ireland have waged for Christian democracy and national freedom. The author points out with telling force how the peaceful and bloodless revolution has been carried on so far and so successfully toward the full realization of the ideals behind it all. The recent events in Europe and the part which the British Government, under the able leadership of the present Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, took in their realization for peace among the nations are more than portends that the suggestions made in the concluding chapters of this timely volume may become historic facts of greatest worth to England and to the national aspirations in the heart of every Celt. This volume has a fine bibliography and a carefully made index. (LEO L. MCVAY)

LABELLE, ABBÉ E. *Frédéric Ozanam, une âme de lumière et de charité.* (Paris: La Bonne Presse. 1939. Pp. viii, 188.) Few are unfamiliar with the outlines of Frédéric Ozanam's life. Before his death at forty, his Society of St. Vincent de Paul had spread throughout the world. His insistence on fraternal charity and love for God's poor had done more for the Church perhaps than all the brilliance of his contemporaries—Montalembert, Lacordaire, and the others of that intellectual group. He was one of the first to take the offensive against militant agnosticism in the higher schools of his day; and he, himself, commanded respect as a professor at the Sorbonne as well by his sterling character as by his erudition and enthusiasm: all this, one must remember, in the short span of forty years. He was a veritable pioneer in Catholic Action.

This saintly personage was chosen as the eighteenth in the series of *Idéalists et animateurs*, and Father Labelle has done well in presenting Ozanam's biography in a concise, easily readable form. While the author proposes to make the life of his subject accessible to a greater than the usual circle of readers, his work certainly makes no concessions to the popular taste. In some places it is practically a mosaic of quotations from Ozanam's writings.

The author devotes most of his attention to what one might call Ozanam's public career, his work at the Sorbonne and his writings. One might like more insight into the spiritual life of the man, the inner workings of the soul, responsible for those sublime external phenomena represented in the organization of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and in his constant apologetic activity at the University. Had the author devoted a little more space to his subject's life of union with God and his heroic practice of Christian virtues, his readers would be better prepared to understand the movement toward the canonization of that great Catholic layman.

But Father Labelle was so conversant with his subject and so limited in space that the selection of his matter must have been a difficult problem. His book has much to recommend it; and it should make an attractive introduction for the layman to the life of Frédéric Ozanam. (ANTHONY VIEBAN)

LATHOUD, DAVID, A.A. *Saint Jean Bosco, l'entraîneur des jeunes.* (Paris: La Bonne Presse. 1938. Pp. 196.) In this, the sixteenth of the series, *Idéalistes et animateurs,* Father Lathoud presents a brief but beautiful picture of the first Salesian. Although it is a popular study, the author does a service in sketching with more emphasis not only the spiritual life of St. John but his sociological and pedagogical acumen as well. There is documentation only on those points where Father Lathoud develops an original angle for study as, e.g., in the matter of Victor Hugo's relations with Don Bosco. The book is, for all that, more objective, less of a psychological study, than M. Ghéon's recent biography.

After the author has traced the life of his subject to the time of his ordination, he abandons the strictly chronological order and follows a synthetic method, focussing his matter into chapters on distinct topics—as, for instance, the chapters on the saint's journalistic activities, his miracles, his pedagogy, his trials, etc.

Father Lathoud has a sensitive style, with all the delicacy and mechanical flexibility peculiar to French prose-writers. He has a fine eye for incident and keeps his narrative moving through constant use of illustration and anecdote.

In fine, this is a more than competent reduction of the biographical material on St. John Bosco, with evidences of original research in addition: better, we might venture to say, than the usual small-biographies of holy men,—and certainly deserving of translation. (ANTHONY VIEBAN)

MCGOVERN, WILLIAM M. *The Early Empires of Central Asia.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1939. Pp. xiii, 529. $4.00.) This volume of four books, which contain eighteen chapters, has also nine illustrations and seven maps, together with notes, bibliography and index. The four books deal with what is called the Aryan background; then the first Hunnish empire, the second Hunnish empire and the spread of the Huns to China, Europe, Persia and India. The book is arranged so as to fix attention upon "Aryan Scythians"; then proceeding to what is called the "Turko-Mongoloid Hun". This soon is forced upon the reader's attention by the space occupied in dealing with the Huns, some 312 out of a total of 399 pages. This may be a preparation of facts on which to base a future history of the Huns in Asia and Europe. Within this book the author points out that Scythians tribes used trousers and boots (pp. 49, 103, 252) and were fond of horses on which they seemed to live; while painting of vases led to a development of artistic ideas. But Scythians, Bactrians, Sarmatians, and Sogdians, whatever their early developments may have been, do not appear to have been related to Huns of Asia. Book II deals with the growth of the first Hunnish Empire and its gradual decline until the Huns sank into the state of vassalage to China. Then follows

the revival of the Huns and their final eclipse as a force that could disturb or advance the extreme Orient. The fourth Book deals with the period of smaller Hun kingdoms and the devastating irruptions they made into Europe, together with the tendency of some to remain where they had entered. This volume is a history of the early peoples and their methods of life of that still badly defined area often called Turkestan, which was divided by some critics into Chinese Turkestan and Russian Turkestan; while other critics seek to create more geographic trouble by trying to couple together the extreme east of Europe with the extreme west of Asia under the hybrid term of Eurasia. True it can be said that the author has only here presented a portion of his investigations which might be called shortly an examination of certain races which inhabited the northern and eastern area of Europe and Asia, beginning with their early history and bringing it down to what may somewhat loosely be called the commencement of states which we now consider trouble spots of the Asiatic continent.

On the question of spelling Chinese names, the system of transliteration will not meet with approval from students of Asiatic languages and phonetics. Most students who have lived continuously in Asia recognize what casual travellers fail to recognize that the pronunciation of Chinese or Arabic is different according as the speaker is Prussian or Austrian, or French or English. But it is quite unnecessary to keep changing Romanization or transliteration of Asiatic languages every few years. This does not advance our knowledge nor aid understanding. The author admits (pp. 460-461) he has followed Wade, then Karlgren and then a plan of his own. None of these changes of sound will alter the fact that the French pronounce Shanghai as Chang-hai.

It is to be hoped that the completion of the studies as is here indicated will not be unduly delayed and that therein there will be given more space to the history of Samarkand, the Mongols of Fars, and the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks. (Boyd Carpenter)

Nettels, Curtis P. *The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life.* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1938. Pp. xx, 722. $4.00.) It has been seven years since a completely new text has been issued for the field of colonial history. If there were no other reason than presenting a compilation of the newer researchers in this ever-broadening field, the publication of this present work would be appropriate. There is, however, more valid justification for commendation on this textbook of Professor Nettels. Combining so excellently and proportionately the tenets of the classical, and the "new", historical writing, he has broken completely and successfully from the precedent of undue emphasis upon the period of the settlements and the individuality of the various colonies. Concentrating upon English colonization, even to a relative but valid disparagement of the Spanish and French efforts, one-seventh of the text is given over to developing the European background for the seventeenth century migrations. Within three chapters the significant details of the colonization of the entire Atlantic seaboard from Gaspé to the Saint Mary's river has been summarized. The major portion of the book treats of colonial life, work, society, and problems in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The colonial policy of England,

colonial immigration and expansive migration, as well as, class, economic and regional conflicts are given extensive treatment. The work terminates with the Peace of 1783, after an allotment of the final seventh of the book to the revolutionary period and the war. Professor Nettels' purpose "has been to understand and to describe the essentials of American society" as they developed during the colonial period. To this end the author has given emphasis to the economic aspirations and rivalries within the English colonies, although the other aspects of colonial life are not neglected. Every student possesses his own evaluation of the proportioned importance and arrangement of the many movements and incidents of our colonial history. It would, therefore, border on the academic to question whether the colonial groups had so definitely developed their financial, agrarian and commercial ideals and aims, as the author attributes to them. Textbooks, because of their nature, will not be able to escape such diversity of interpretation. However, the broad coverage, the extraordinary detail, and the general readability of the volume will compensate for such differences of individual interpretation and will provide the best recommendation for its adoption as the textbook for American colonial history. Numerous evaluated citations to the better monographs and standard works are included in the text and this procedure has obviated the need of a formidable, comprehensive bibliography or list of recommended readings. Catholics will be disappointed that no formal history of their Church or its leaders has been included among these references. A reviewer might criticize the inaccurate impressions, which students may secure from several instances of loose expression, especially in regard to the European background. Nevertheless, the text can be recommended as a generally accurate and complete treatment of our colonial history. Clarifying maps, charts, illustrations, and a detailed index are auxiliary aids which supplement the attractiveness and utility of the volume. (EDWARD P. LILLY)

O'BRIEN, MICHAEL J. *Pioneer Irish in New England.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1937. Pp. xiv, 325. $3.50.) This is a volume which will not grow old. The data herein contained will arouse a lively interest in two very distinct groups, namely those in favor of the author's purpose and those who, due to lack of proper training, are honestly convinced that the author's wish is father to his thought. For the first group the contents of this timely volume will both strengthen their confirmation of and provide well-attested proof for their already accepted views. For the second group the reading of this volume will be both a revelation and a corrective, Lodge, Palfrey and other such writers notwithstanding.

That the Irish strain played a role in the designing and weaving of early New England is the author's basic purpose, and the patient and far-reaching researches which Dr. O'Brien has made establish beyond cavil that the Irish were represented in the Colonies from the very beginning, even before the coming of the Mayflower. (Cf. Chapter III of this work to the report on Virginia by Francis Maguire, which by the way was written in Gaelic.) In the eighteen chapters which make up this volume Dr. O'Brien has garnered from "the files of the Courts, probate, administration and land office records, the baptismal, marriage and burial registers, the rolls of troops who served in

the colonial wars, the town books or their printed reproductions, authentic transcripts—and sundry other public records" of the New England colonies a wealth of material that makes the Adams point of view of American colonial history and its teaching subject to a much-needed alteration. The one hundred and four dozen names of Irish men and women given recognition in this volume makes the reader realize the extensive contributions which colonial New England owed to the Irish and to Ireland. The appendix and index of the names of the Irish pioneers in New England are of great practical value. The author would have increased the serviceableness of this work as a reference book had he added a table of contents and a topical index. (Leo L. McVay)

Peterson, H. C. *Propaganda for War.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 357. $3.00.) This monograph by Professor Peterson is a judicious and well-written account of the way in which British propaganda moulded the American public mind during the years from 1914 to 1917. It is a depressing story because it clearly confirms the truth of Lord Northcliffe's estimate of Americans: "They dress alike, they talk alike, they think alike. What sheep!"

Even before the outbreak of the World War in August, 1914, the American press depended upon British agencies for most of the news items about Europe. After August 5th, when the cables between Germany and the United States were cut, this dependence was made absolute and Americans looked at the war in Europe only through British eyes. Through its rigid censorship of both mail and press, the British government was able to give any tone it desired to information destined to reach the United States. Through its War Propaganda Bureau, usually spoken of as Wellington House, a program was developed that was successful beyond all expectations. On the mailing list of Wellington House were some 260,000 American names, and to this carefully selected group of Americans a flood of propaganda was directed. It took the form of books, pamphlets, government publications, speeches, cartoons, pictures, photographs, maps, posters, lantern slides and movie films. In order that these instruments of propaganda should be used to the best advantage, distinguished British publicists toured the United States and gave personal instruction to avid Americans.

Famous British authors like James Bryce, Conan Doyle, Gilbert K. Chesterton, Alfred Noyes, Hilaire Belloc, and Rudyard Kipling helped to train the American mind to regard the Germans as Huns who had forsworn Christianity and had returned to pagan practices. Certain American authors were glad to assist in this program of education, and soon there were thousands of American men and women who had caught the cadence of war and were preaching the necessity of a general crusade to make the world safe for democracy.

The immediate problem that faced British propagandists was to make Americans see the World War in the simple terms of a struggle between the forces of good and evil. They were so successful that many headlines quickly appeared in the American press to the effect that "England's Defeat is Our Defeat", and the conviction became firmly established that the American frontier against German aggression was somewhere in northern France. In

order to arouse American hatred of everything German, British propaganda held up the Kaiser as an arch villain whose sadistic nature demanded the slaughter and torture of innocent civilians. Lurid stories were circulated about the mutilation of children in Belgium when the real truth was that this practice was one of Belgian origin that was entirely confined to the Congo Basin in Africa. Much ado was made about the damage wrought by Germans to the Rheims Cathedral, but nothing was said concerning the use of the cathedral towers by French soldiers for observation purposes. Edith Cavell was pictured as a martyr to German brutality, and a discreet silence was observed with reference to the earlier execution by the French military forces of Marguerite Schmidt for exactly the same practice of aiding prisoners to escape. British propaganda was scathing in its indictment of German inhumanity for introducing poison gas at the second battle of the Ypres, but no mention was made of the fact that the French had been counting upon using it themselves and had already sprayed German troops with liquid fire that was far worse than poison gas.

Thanks to this same propaganda, the American press was bitter in its condemnation of Zeppelin raids over England but there was not a line of protest against the more than three hundred British air attacks upon defenseless German towns. America was blind to every outrage committed by the Allies but was keenly alert to every alleged misdeed of the Central Powers. In view of the present international situation and the flood of British propaganda that is even now sweeping over this country, the monograph by Professor Peterson is especially timely, but one cannot help thinking that despite its evident scholarship and its clarity of presentation, there will be few Americans who will give heed to the important lesson that it teaches. (CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL)

ROBERTS, FRANK H. H. JR. *Archeological Remains in the Whitewater District of Eastern Arizona.* Part I. *House Types.* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution. [Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 121.] 1939. Pp. xii, 276. $0.50.) The intensive and extensive archeological exploration that has been going on for the last fifteen years in what is known as the Southwest culture area of aboriginal United States is bound to open new horizons into the prehistory of our continent. The Southwest area includes all of New Mexico and Arizona and the southern regions of Utah and Colorado. Among the noted workers in this field are J. W. Fewkes, M. R. Harrington, E. L. Hewett, F. W. Hodge, A. M. Judd, A. D. Kidder, E. M. Morris and other noted authorities on Pueblo culture. Since the publication by Dr. A. E. Douglas in 1932 of his paper on "Tree Rings and their Relation to Solar Variations and Chronology", and earlier articles in 1921 and 1929, a new, and on the whole, satisfactory technique has been furnished American archeologists for dating the vast mass of ruins in the Indian Southwest. The Whitewater district, the site of the excavations described in this bulletin, is a little more than three miles south of Allantown, Apache County, in the eastern part of Arizona, and close to the border line between that state and New Mexico. The investigations were carried on during the summer months of 1931, 1932 and 1933.

The most important archeological remains of ancient America are found in the region of the Southwest—Pueblo Bonito, Aztec Ruins, Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, Rito de los Frijoles, Cliff Palace, Spruce Tree House, Pecos, Casa Grande, and Montezuma Castle being names familiar to students of aboriginal Indian culture. As we have just stated, these investigations will clear up many problems in the early history of cultural movements and diffusion among Indian tribes.

Dr. Roberts, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, a student of Southwestern archeology for many years, described the present status of research in this field in Bulletins 92 and 96 of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1929 and 1930). In the Introduction to Bulletin 100, which contains the report of his excavation of the ruins of Kiatuthlanna in Eastern Arizona, he says: "Archeological work in the Southwest during the last 25 years has done much to retrieve the story of the unfolding of the aboriginal prehistoric sedentary cultures of the region. The stages represented by the great communal houses and massive cliff dwellings are now well known. There are certain phases of the earlier horizons, however, which still remain to be investigated and others about which only meager information is available" (*The Ruins at Kiatuthlanna Eastern Arizona*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 100, 1931).

The present study, though limited to house types of the ancient Indian inhabitants of eastern Arizona, is a contribution "to retrieve the story". Other aspects of the material culture of the region which have turned out to be a rich and promising field for further study—such as pottery, stone and bone implements, will be considered in a second part of this report to be published later. Two groups of structures (house remains) are discussed in the present bulletin, the description being made more realistic by thirty plates and fifty-three text figures. It is to be hoped that the vigorous archeological research now going on in the Southwest will also clarify the question of the relation or non-relation of these pre-Columbian remains to cultures outside the American continent. European students of pre-history expect light from American archeology on this important aspect of pre-historic culture.

The Southwest, being the scene of the labors of heroic missionaries and pioneers like the Jesuits, Salvatierra and Kino, and the Franciscan padres, is of immense interest and significance to students of the early history of the Church in America. Professor Bolton has found there his life-work. It is gratifying to record that several of our scholars have turned to that fascinating field. (ALBERT MUNTSCH)

SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR M. JR. *Orestes A. Brownson. A Pilgrim's Progress.* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1939. Pp. 320. $2.50.) A few days before beginning to read this latest study of Brownson I saw a book review of it in the *New York Times* by Henry Steele Commager. The reviewer I thought ignorantly flippant; but on going through the book itself I came to understand the flippancy, for the author has a tone which is liable to make the reader unacquainted with the genuine Brownson not take the great convert seriously either before or after his conversion in 1844. Not that the author fails to quote all available sources but that he does so apparently without a principle of discrimina-

tion; and for that reason things appear out of perspective. In fact a reader without a good acquaintance with the facts of Brownson's life would not get the impression from this Schlesinger volume that Brownson was considered by Europeans, such as Lord Brougham, before his conversion the greatest mind in America, and by Catholics after his death in 1876, such as Hecker in the United States and Newman in England, as one of the master spirits of the nineteenth century. Again, if the impertinent curiosities were eliminated from this study not much of worth-while information would remain. Cervantes aptly described nearly four centuries in advance the category of research experts that I am inclined to think Mr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., puts himself in, namely, men who spend years finding out things which when ascertained are not worth knowing. This literary investigator of Brownson really tells us in 297 pages less about the Brownson that two generations of Americans and Europeans knew than does Sister M. Felicia, S.L., in a doctoral thesis just released by the Catholic University of America in 14 pages of introduction to a treatise on *Some Social Principles of O. A. Brownson.*

Mr. Schlesinger, whatever he intended to do, has written a book which angers the friends of Brownson and might well make resentful any intelligent Catholic. This is because he does not bring to the task of writing about an admittedly great man that friendly spirit which Newman rightly puts down as the prerequisite of a successful biographer — what a contrary example that Belgian Capuchin gave who wrote several years ago a study of John Wesley! I take for granted that Mr. Schlesinger is not a Catholic. If he is, he has put on the manners of an anti-Catholic in trying to be objective. If he is a non-Catholic, he could still have justly appraised his subject. Even when Mr. Schlesinger draws upon appraisals written by persons associated with Brownson other than Transcendentalist "silly girls with pretty curls", he has the literary awkwardness to give the reader unfamiliar with Brownson the impression that this resolute friend of truth was a glorified freak leaving nothing of permanent value behind him. So much does this writing handy-andyness play the author false that he takes private letters written by a fussy member of the family, perhaps hysterical at the time, and cites them as if they constituted a juridical suspicion that Brownson in his old age turned lecher and drunkard.

Hardly anywhere is Mr. Schlesinger, when not quoting from approved sources, trustworthy as an interpreter of facts. To begin with he changes the small incident of Brownson throwing the abusing Hoover over a stove-pipe in Greene's bookstore, Boston, into an incident of Brownson *trying* to throw Hoover over the stove pipe. He states that humility was a virtue which Brownson was unable to acquire, and this in spite of two heroic instances to the contrary falling under his notice. Worse still, he has the audacity to say that Catholic faith never became a personal conviction with Brownson until he gave up defending the Church by traditional arguments and began using his own theory of communion and life as an apologetic method. He himself betrays much metaphysical shallowness by attributing to Brownson little depth compared with Kant and Hegel, Newman and Mill. Somehow or other he does manage to keep away from the reader Brownson's stupendous greatness as a master of principle in nearly every order of thought and does not give

the least intimation that *The American Republic* reveals Brownson as the philosophical expounder of the constitution.

None of his predecessors had written about Brownson anything which can escape the disparagement of our author. Even *The Convert* is referred to as "his forceful, if not altogether reliable autobiography." *The Spirit Rapper* is set down as a book of few merits; yet an authority on things occult such as Father Thurston proclaims it still the standard work on spiritism.

The statue incident that closes so strikingly this presumptively honest although actually farcical evaluation of Brownson is a symbol of a truth not intended by Mr. Schlesinger. On July 1, 1937, a crowd of boys toppled from the pedestal the bronze head of Brownson at Riverside Park, New York; and the police were unable to find who Brownson was from the residents of the vicinity. I make bold to say that the literary monument just erected by this distinguished member of the orderly, or valet, school of biographers will tell no more to a heedless generation about that easy American equal of Newman than did to New Yorkers the inscription beneath the bronze head: *Brownson, Publicist, Philosopher, Patriot.* (JOSEPH P. DONOVAN)

SOMBART, WERNER. *Vom Menschen — Versuch einer geistwissenschaftlichen Anthropologie.* (Berlin – Charlottenburg: Buchholz & Weisswange Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1938. Pp. xxiii, 461. 12 RM.) An economist turned social psychologist—the phenomenon is not at all strange! For all social sciences must sooner or later abandon the mechanistic juggling which has been introduced by Watson & Co. and turn to the typically human element in all social relations. And social psychology is the science of the motives of people living in social relations. When we say that Werner Sombart is an example of this conversion we do not mean that he has given up a mechanistic for an animistic *Weltanschauung.* He was always a doughty champion of the "spiritual in man." We mean that he has in the present tome tossed aside rigid economic plans and theories and written a work about man in his manifold "social relations." But he has also many capital things to say—and he says them well—about man as an individual.

Who is Werner Sombart? He is one of the much read and much discussed economists of modern Germany. He was born January 19, 1863 at Ermsleben in Saxony and is especially known for his studies on capitalism and socialism. By his works: *Der moderne Kapitalismus, Socialismus und sociale Bewegung, Der proletarische Socialismus, Der Bourgeois,* etc. he developed a theory of national economics on historical principles.

A translation of the German title, "Concerning Man", gives an inadequate idea of the rich variety of questions touched on by the author. (The present reviewer is tempted to substitute a new title: *Man, Men, Nature, Race, Culture and Environment*), for the work ranges all the way from "instinct of animals" in chapter I, through "physique and character" (pp. 29-33), "intelligence tests" (pp. 119-123), "somatic racial types and population problems" (pp. 209-213) to the "born girl telephone-operator", in the last chapter. If the title had not been pre-empted, we would suggest as the best caption for an English version of this book: *This Creature Man.*

The author explains his standpoint in the *Vorwort* as follows: "This book is an essay in anthropology in the old meaning of the term, before it was used,

or rather misused, to denote a part discipline classed under the natural sciences." Now the "old anthropology" was not so much concerned with "culture" or the product of man's mind, as with his unique place in the creation. Hence Sombart devotes the first part of his book to showing that humanity has traits peculiar to itself, and that man's chief endowments are spirit (*Geist*) and free will. In the second part Sombart shows that individual men are as different as the representatives of every other species. In a final paragraph the author asserts that his book is a study in the upbuilding of human personality. Man is a being belonging to two worlds and fated to struggle against this dualism of nature and spirit to his last days. His whole existence is a warfare of his spiritual being with earthly longings.

But we wonder whether Sombart is aware that this golden truth has been eloquently expressed by a world-writer—Thomas à Kempis? In his long list of 268 "Anmerkungen" he cites neither this profound philosopher nor the Holy Scripture, which would have provided admirable confirmation of his interesting study of "this creature man".

But it is a significant book, especially commendable for its spirited defense of the importance of the psychic factor in man's culture and achievements. The trenchant criticism of many of the false systems that have arisen in the last century make the book an important contribution to the history of philosophy. (ALBERT MUNTSCH)

STOJANOVIĆ, MIHAILO D. *The Great Powers and the Balkans, 1875–1878.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xi, 296. $3.50.) Late years have seen a considerable number of publications on various phases of the diplomatic history of the Balkans after 1870. To the studies of Schmitt, Harris, Sumner, and Professor Seton-Watson is now added this monograph on the critical years, 1875 to 1878. It was originally presented in 1930 as a thesis for the doctorate in the University of London, but Dr. Stojanović has worked over the text, incorporated the contents of some additional materials hitherto unpublished, and broadened the scope of the subject.

While the conclusions presented do not demonstrate any startlingly new points of view, yet it is undoubtedly more satisfactory to those not initiated into the intricate details of Balkan affairs, to find the author viewing the question as one of general European importance. He does this by juxtaposing the Franco-German unfriendliness in the West with the Austro-Hungarian-Russian rivalry in the Near East. He keeps before the reader the inter-relation of the two problems. The monograph is based largely on documentary sources, some of them not before seen. Dr. Stojanović's knowledge of Serbian enables him to tap sources from the Serbian archives which are foreign to most western European and American scholars. An adequate index is provided, though no bibliography as such. However, this possible defect is overcome in part by rather close footnote references to the sources used.

All told the volume is a very creditable piece of work, and though the author's sympathies naturally lie with his native Serbia, nonetheless the nationalist viewpoint is not allowed to obtrude itself unduly. The reader might take occasional exception to such statements as the one that the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina "compelled Serbia to intervene in the struggle and

solve this question to her advantage" (p. viii), but these are minor points in a sound work. This monograph is a product of the School of Slavonic Studies at London wherein Professor Seton-Watson and his colleagues are doing so much fine work to acquaint western scholars with the history of eastern Europe. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

THIBAUT, R. *Mélanges Marmion.* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. 1938. Pp. 244.) Since Abbot Marmion's death in 1933, his disciple and ardent admirer Father Thibaut, O.S.B. has published several volumes in the hope of making "the Master" better known and of prolonging the deep spiritual influence he exerted on thousands of readers, chiefly through his first two books: *Christ the Life of the Soul,* and, *Christ in His Mysteries.* It may not be generally known that although Abbot Marmion wrote his books originally in French, he was born and brought up in Ireland.

The present volume, containing some 240 pages, is introduced and edited by Father Thibaut. Its title is perfectly exact, for it is a gathering together of extremely varied elements. There follow: Seven spiritual conferences given by Abbot Marmion to two communities of nuns, reconstructed from notes taken by his hearers; notes from his conferences taken in class by his monks; a sermon for the opening of the Catholic University in Dublin in 1915; introductory notes to his course on theology in general and on the Incarnation in particular; five letters of spiritual direction not hitherto published; an essay on the wisdom of Dom Marmion by a Father of the Society of Mary; ten letters received by Dom Marmion concerning his book *Christ the Life of the Soul;* four prefaces by Cardinal Bourne and other prominent persons to translations of Marmion's *Christ the Life of the Soul;* extracts from the same book which appeared in various periodicals. The last forty pages, about one-sixth of the volume, contain a collection of the Scriptural citations from the *Vulgate* which appear here and there in Marmion's works.

Perhaps, Father Thibaut is just a little over-concerned that nothing of "the Master's" be lost. This *Mélanges* cannot be compared in value or interest with the works of Abbot Marmion, nor even with the older works of Father Thibaut himself. But many readers will find here precious crumbs from the table of "the Master", who was truly remarkable for his deep, sound, Catholic spirituality. (LOUIS A. ARAND)

TYLER, ALICE FELT. *The Modern World.* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. 1939. Pp. x, 930. $3.75.) This book is the third and last volume of a series, *The Civilization of the Western World,* the two other volumes of which are *The Ancient World* by Wallace E. Caldwell, and *The Medieval World* by Loren C. MacKinney. The book opens with a geographical and political survey of Europe in 1500, and ends with a sketch of the policy of appeasement pursued by the conservative leaders of Great Britain and France, and the surrender of the "so-called" democratic powers to the totalitarian states at Munich, on September 29th, 1938. The author significantly concludes her presentation with the words quoted from a former British prime minister who said, "I will not write myself down a pessimist, but I will say that at times I feel that I am living in a madhouse." Some of the author's statements reveal a noticeable originality of thought as, for instance, her fine evaluation

of the Weimar constitution which, though "a magnificent piece of work from the point of view of liberal democratic theory", was doomed to failure in practice because a genuinely democratic mind had never developed among the broader masses of modern Germany. The book is not written from the Catholic standpoint, but the author his tried to deal accurately and fairly with matters concerning religious institutions, in general, and the Catholic Church, in particular. *The Modern World* is published in a handsome format and has a good make-up. It dispenses with illustrations, but contains nineteen carefully chosen maps, many in full color. Most of them are taken from other textbooks with the permission of the respective publishers. A short general bibliography, lists of rulers, and a good index are added at the conclusion of the work. Each chapter is followed by a selected reading list. Adequate chronological tables and genealogical charts would be helpful and desirable supplements in a future edition. The book is designed for use in an introductory college course in Modern European history, but on account of the clear and readable style in which it is written it also can be used most profitably as basic text in secondary schools with a high standard of history. (HENRY J. BRUEHL)

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Historical Records and Studies*, Thomas F. Meehan, Editor. Vol. XXIX. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1938. Pp. 136.) The most recent volume of this series continues the high standard of literary and historical excellence which has long been maintained by its capable editor, Dr. Meehan. The main articles are summary compilations from the better secondary materials. The extension of religious toleration to Catholics under the Federal Constitution is developed by the Reverend Philip J. Furlong, after a summary of the colonial background. Although the writer mentions the numerous rivalries among the Protestant groups, it may be questioned that he has allotted this unintended factor its proportional significance in the development of legal toleration for Catholicism. Thomas F. O'Connor has offered an interesting account of the early Catholic missionary movement in Oregon, which is based in the main on Blanchet's *Historical Sketches*. The article is concerned with the leading personalities of that missionary period but it does not treat of the relationship between the Catholics and Protestants in the territory. There is an interesting note which establishes James G. Blaine as a baptized, but never a believing or a practicing, Catholic. Biographical sketches of the first four nuns from Puritan New England, the growth of St. Bonaventure's College and library, an anniversary tribute to Rev. Joseph Fischer, S.J., German geographer and cartographer, and an historical note by the editor on Mother Seton's New York residences, are the briefer contributions. Dr. Crowley's "American Catholic Universities" is a brief history of the growth of this educational ideal in America. Specific treatment is given of one midwestern, and of three eastern, universities. Space limitations have restricted the treatment of problems to endowments and the scarcity of capable lay teachers. Another educator might propose that the unnecessary duplication of facilities is equally serious. The format and the workmanship of the volume is excellent, although the absence of an index for this volume and for the series will be regretted. (EDWARD P. LILLY)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Recent Trends in Historical Thought. R. Flenley (*University of Toronto Quarterly*, July).

Professor Macmurray's Clue to History. M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. (*Tablet*, August 5th).

The Birth of an Age [Historians "will be unanimous in stating that a new age began in the first half of the twentieth century"]. Edward Quinn (*Thought*, September).

Revolt Among Historians: Interpretation in Historiography. W. E. Bean (*Sewanee Review*, July–Sept.).

Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs apports à l'histoire des origines du peuple hébreu. R. De Langhe (*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, April–July).

The Mentality of the Hellenistic World and the After-Life. Michael I. Rostovtzeff (*Harvard Divinity School Bulletin, Official Register of Harvard University*, vol. xxxvi, no. 14).

Natural Religion. Herbert Wallace Schneider (*Ibid.*).

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The Church in the New Testament. Joseph Buchanan Bernardin (*Anglican Theological Review*, July).

The Separation of Christianity from Judaism. Floyd V. Filson (*Ibid.*).

The Nature of the Church. Part I: Historical Origins. Frederick S. Grant (*Ibid.*).

The Origins of Christian Worship to Justin Martyr. A. W. Parsons (*Churchman*, July–Sept.).

El realismo platónico de S. Gregorio de Nisa. S. Gonzalez (*Gregorianum*, 1939, 2).

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Le rituel d'ordination des Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua. B. Botte (*Ibid.*).

The Latin Church of the Early Crusades. Matthew Spinka (*Church History*, June).

Der Weg nach Canossa. J. Haller (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 160, Heft 2).

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La confrérie dans la vie de l'église. Joseph Duhr, S.J. (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, July).

Il Beato Giovanni di Britto, martire per la fede in India. Henry B. L. Hughes (*Pensiero missionario*, June).

Gli inizi di una gerarchia africana di razza nera. G. Cattaui de Menasce (*Ibid.*, August).

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Die Sammlung römischer Missionserlasse. J. Dindinger (*Ibid.*).

Modern Mass Conversion. A. E. Howell (*Month*, June).

Memories of Three Popes [Pius IX, Leo XIII, Pius X]. D. O. Hunter-Blair (*Dublin Review*, July).

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The Western Dispersion of the Armenian Church. Nicolas Zernov (*Church Quarterly Rev.*, July–Sept.).

The Orthodox Church in the Last Twenty Years. Prince Massalsky (*Thought*, September).

The Catholic Church and Social Progress. Jacques Maritain (*Foreign Affairs*, July).

The Roman Catholic Church and National Socialism. Robert d'Harcourt (*19th Century*, July).

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American and French Revolutions: A Study in Contrast. M. F. X. Millar (*Thought*, September).

EUROPEAN

Etude sur le recueil des lettres de Gerbert. Ferdinand Lot (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*.

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The Tradition of German Catholicism, Anonymous (*Tablet*, July 15th–August 5).
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The Dates of the Arthurian Saints' Legends. J. S. P. Tatlock (*Speculum*, July).
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Lollardy and the Great Bible. W. N. Chaplin (*Church Quarterly Review*, July–Sept.).
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Le sécrétaire de Marie Stuart: Gilbert Curle (1549-1609) et sa famille. L. Antheunis (*Revue des questions historiques*, July).
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